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THE INDIAN MOSLEMS

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BY

AN INDIAN MAHOMEDAN
AUTHOR OF "BRITISH INDIA"

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THE writer of this work is an Indian Nawab holding a responsible official position, which precludes his signing it with his name. His former work, on "British India from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Reading," met with a very favourable reception in the Press.

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THE INDIAN MOSLEMS

CHAPTER I

THE APPEAL TO HISTORY

THIS exposition of the case for the Moslems of India may commence with a protest against their being classed, as is the usage, among "the minorities" of that land. Statisticians count heads, or the figures representing them, blindly. On the like principle the landholder, when reckoning up his stock, would place chickens and rabbits on the same level as "the lordlier beasts of creation"; and among the races of India there are some who in any scale of comparison would not deserve to rank higher than the former. But the Moslems are not of these. Statesmen have a harder task than statisticians. Behind figures they have to ascertain and measure facts, they have to discover a scale of just proportion, and they have to appraise human values at their real worth. Hereon the Moslems of India are ready to stand the test. They appeal, in the first place, to history. Let us consider what it tells us.

Why did the Moslems first come into India? Because it was visibly a disunited country, a congeries of quarrelling principalities with no bond of union, no sense of common interest, between them; in no sense a single and united State, but one in

which the call of patriotism fell on deaf ears. A territory existing under such conditions invited invasion; a people without any warlike aptitude, and among whom such heroism as existed took the form of suicide, could not repel it. The India of the Hindus was a land susceptible of conquest. Providence seems to have decreed that lot for them as a natural inheritance. It was the Mogul emperors who first broke this rule by gathering up all the regions of the peninsula under their sway—an example in which they were followed by their British successors. The talk of a united India, apart from those two supremacies, is but a figment of the imagination.

The methods of conquerors may vary in particulars with the fashions of their age, but fundamentally they are identical. When they first appear they come as raiders and despoilers. Their primary object is plunder or trade, and they have no thought of remaining in the land they are ravaging or exploiting. But with reflection, or increased knowledge, they make the discovery that it is a fair and promising land worth settling down in, and so they remain or return with a new and more definite purpose. That was how and why the successors of the Ghazni and Ghor conquerors gave six main dynasties, and many minor ones, to India. To illustrate the ease with which Moslem invaders were able to overrun the whole of Northern India, correctly speaking, Hindustan, it will suffice to mention that in the years 1199-1203 the Ghor general, Bakhtiyar Khilji, conquered Bengal with the same ease that the Emperor Baber did 325 years later. Besides, it will be remembered that

after the lapse of two more centuries the English had no difficulty in subduing that vast and densely peopled province from its indigenous inhabitants. The contest for supremacy in which Clive signalised himself was not with the Bengali, but with the Moslem lords of the land. There is no reason to doubt that whatever fate the future may have in reserve for India, the Bengalis will never be the arbiters of their own destinies. That is a point in these days of noisy demagogism that should never be put out of sight.

It does not appear as if these early Mahomedan invaders, apart from the absence of the wish, had the power in respect of resources to take upon themselves the general government of the country. They swept over the region invaded, but they retired carrying off with them what they could, and the same proceedings were repeated many times. But, although gradual and incomplete, the infiltration of the alien element became visible. The Rajputs were established, not in Rajasthan, but in the Punjab. It was they who bore the brunt of those invasions. The glory of Kanouj was laid in the dust without ignominy. The survivors of many a stricken field were glad to find a fresh home behind the great rivers in a mountainous region, where they could erect innumerable rock fortresses for self-defence. But the Punjab remained in the hands of the Moslem invaders. In Lahore the Slave Kings established the first regular Moslem dynasty in India, and, although it lasted for less than a century, Delhi was absorbed before it was superseded by the Khilji dynasty, which came next.

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power may have been, was rendered remarkable because it originated the experiment of planting Moslem colonies in the Punjab. Ala-ud-Din, the great leader of the period, realising the fecundity of this great division of Northern India, decided to attract settlers from Afghanistan and the regions farther west to leave their inhospitable climes and settle in a fairer region watered by the five rivers: Afghans, Turks, and Mongols came in their thousands. In this manner India was apprised that the Moslems had resolved to stay. The lands vacated by the departing Rajputs were to provide them with a new and more attractive home. Nor was it in the nature of things that the process begun by the Khilji ruler should not be continued by his successors. Its continuance and increased development were clearly the essential condition of the stability of the presence and power of the Moslems in India. The originators of the movement no doubt were thinking only of their own immediate needs, but none the less they were the introducers of a new and important element in the fabric of India's life. Thenceforth it was to be no longer exclusively Hindu. Whether the newcomers were to be regarded as masters or as brothers their presence could not be ignored. A momentous infiltration of new blood and the spread of a different religion from anything India had hitherto known had commenced. The foundation was thus laid of that mixed life and interwoven interests, social not less than political, which constitute the double texture of the Indian communities as they exist to-day.

The Khilji rulers were followed by the family of Tughlak, which established the third Moslem

dynasty in India (1320-1414). Its fortunes underwent an eclipse in consequence of the terrible Mongol invasion in 1398 when Timur sacked Delhi, and perpetrated atrocities unsurpassed in the records of man. The most important incident of their era in the internal affairs of India was the migration of a chief named Bahmani to the Deccan, where he established a principality identified with his name. Thanks to its remoteness from the Punjab it escaped the effects of Timur's inroad, and the dynasty was still in existence when the star of Baber rose on the horizon. It fared better than its contemporaries at Delhi, where several ruling families had declined and fallen to give place at last to the Afghan Lodis. Remote as the Bahmani realm was from the storm centres of India its rulers could not eventually avert the troubles that beset all reigning families with the lapse of time, and more especially those, perhaps, of Asia. If, however, they could not escape the common lot in undergoing the throes of dissolution, they at least expired gloriously, for from their loins sprang five dynasties, of which the best known were those of Bijapur and Golconda. The process of disruption had not commenced at the moment when Baber first contemplated the conquest of India, and thus commenced a new era in her history, for when he stood on the threshold of his great adventure he examined the political conditions of the peninsula. He found that it was divided among five Moslem dynasties—the Lodis at Delhi, the Bahmanis in the Deccan, the Khiljies in Malwa, the Sher in Bengal, and the Mohammedis in Gujerat. Of the former Hindu rulers two alone remained, the Rana Sanka of Udaipur, and the

Raja of Bijanagar. Such was the tableau that presented itself to this great knight-errant who had left his own home in Ferghana for Cabul, where designs on India have long found a natural incubator.

Of all the great conquerors that the world has known, Baber was the most appealing, and the fascination of his work and deeds has influenced a much wider circle than he could ever have contemplated addressing. He took care to preserve his reputation before posterity by compiling his own "Memoirs," a human document of self-revelation of unsurpassed candour and intimacy. It has been said that Baber was more of an adventurer than a conqueror, and his early adventures and misfortunes in Central Asia give some colour to the judgment, but when he turned his horse's head towards Lahore and Delhi he assumed of set purpose the kinglier rôle. Baber was of the family of Genghis Khan and Timur in direct descent, but he disclaimed his Mongol origin. Neither did he greatly love the Afghans, although he made use of them. His pride was to belong to the Turki race, and although in later days his successors acquiesced in the Hindu appellation of Mogul, a corruption of Mongol, Baber himself took pride in his being the introducer of Turk authority into India. He had borrowed much in his military system from the practice and example of those great masters of the art of war, the Sultans of Roum. This racial distinction relieved him from all compunction in prosecuting war upon his co-religionists, the pioneers who had parcelled out India between them.

Like his predecessors, Baber does not at first appear to have seriously entertained the project of

a conquest of India. It was only as he discovered the comparative ease with which such an enterprise might be accomplished that he enlarged his horizon and extended the scope of his operations. The experience acquired during his first inroads led him to form a contemptuous estimate of the powers of resistance possessed by the inhabitants of the country. He wrote with almost brutal candour: "The people of Hindustan are a strangely foolish and senseless race possessed of little reflection and less foresight. They can neither persist in and successfully support a war, nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship." By some intuitive process he seems to have realised that he had only to overthrow the Afghan rulers in the Punjab and Delhi to find the road open to him as far as his horses could carry himself and his followers.

Baber's first four expeditions into India were experimental. Having pacified the Yusufzai and Afridi tribes in the neighbourhood of the Khyber and occupied Peshawar, he crossed the Indus in the year 1525 with the definite intention of overthrowing the Lodi power. In that year he defeated the Lodi generals at Lahore and Sumbhulpur, and prepared for a decisive issue in 1526. Ibrahim Lodi realised that the crisis in his fate had arrived and that it was a case of revival or extinction. When he heard that Baber was leaving Lahore to attack him he marched out of Delhi and took up a position on the historic plain of Paniput, where the fate of India has been so often decided. If he had remained on the defensive within his entrenchments, as some of his officers advised him to do, things might have gone differently, and the future of India would have

rested in suspense. But Ibrahim was bold and intrepid, perhaps to the excess of rashness. He left his entrenchments and advanced to meet Baber exactly as that leader most desired any of his adversaries to do, for he trusted to his cavalry supported by his artillery to give him the victory. Nor was he disappointed on this occasion. The army of Ibrahim Lodi was overwhelmed, and the monarch himself was found among the slain. As the result of the battle Baber took possession of Delhi, and before the campaign ended he occupied Agra. The Lodi dynasty was thus overthrown, and in its place the successful Turk leader established his own, to be known eventually as that of the Great Mogul.

At this juncture Baber again surveyed the position and pondered over the plans that most appealed to his imagination. Was he to rest content with the Lodi dominion which he had acquired, or was he to extend his operations and authority over a wider area? He has written rather naïvely what he thought of India at this moment: "The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver." Such views tempted him to further action. There was another reason in the comparative ease with which he had overcome his chief opponent, and in the absence of all signs of opposition on the part of the indigenous population. It seemed as if he might proceed without the least apprehension of stubborn resistance. Success had inspired him with confidence, and nothing happened in his experience to warn him of the limits of human fortune. He had made but a brief stay in Delhi before transferring his capital to Agra, where he enjoyed some of the amenities in

gardens, flowers, and fruit that made Cabul so dear to him. From Agra he seemed to hold the rest of India in the hollow of his hand. Why should he not grasp the prize that a benevolent Providence had placed within his reach? Certainly the contemptuous opinion he had formed of the Hindu populations was not calculated to deter him. It was thus expressed:

"The people of Hindustan are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in the bazaars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick!"

Whether the four centuries which have elapsed since those lines were written have not seen changes introduced that would compel a modification of this judgment need not be discussed here. It revealed the two dominant opinions in Baber's mind. One was that the Hindus could be easily subdued, and the other that it was reserved for him to accomplish the task. Baber, therefore, did not linger long in Agra. In 1528 he crossed the Ganges and invaded the great province of Oude, which was a dependency of the Sher dynasty ruling over the kingdom of Bengal. Here again he was confronted, not by Indians, but by Moslems, led by Sultan Mahomed,

a brother of Ibrahim Lodi, who had left Delhi before the Moguls appeared upon the scene. Baber's good fortune continued and Oude shared the fate of Agra, but beyond Oude was the kingdom of Bengal, ruled at that moment by Nazrut Shah of the Sher dynasty, which possessed Bihar and Orissa. In 1529 Baber undertook the last of his Indian campaigns. Making use of the Ganges for purposes of transport, he advanced to Patna and obtained several successes over Nazrut Shah, but for the first time in his career he became sensible of the fact that there was a limit to his resources and that his communications with his rear were insecure. For these reasons he abandoned the idea for the time of conquering Bengal and rested content with a treaty of peace by which Nazrut Shah acknowledged the sovereignty of the Mogul ruler. Baber was the more inclined to grant these terms because he was assured by the Bengalis: "We are faithful to the throne. Whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." This assertion bids one ask in these days whether the Bengalis, whose agitation verges on sedition and revolution, have changed, or whether the majesty of the throne, as they conceived it, has somewhat declined and lost its potency?

Baber, in according terms to Nazrut Shah in 1529, probably intended to return at a subsequent date to settle accounts with his neighbour, but this was not to be, with dire consequences to his son and successor. After the exertions of this campaign, which was carried on during the hottest period of the year in the Gangetic Valley, Baber went to recuperate in the more temperate clime of Agra,

where he had created a pleasant residence with baths and gardens. Here in the year 1530, in the prime of his life—he was only forty-seven—he was suddenly seized with a mortal illness and passed away. In the partition of his vast dominions he assigned the inheritance of India to his eldest son Humayoun, and of Afghanistan to his second son Kamran. For Askari and Hindal, the two younger, there was nothing specific. Hindal, once a favourite, was under a cloud at the moment through a failure in Badakshan.

Baber had conquered the most important part of India, but he had no time to consolidate the hold he had secured upon it by a short series of brilliant campaigns. The question remained open: Was his achievement to be regarded as ephemeral, or had he really given India a new permanent Government? It was for Humayoun to provide the answer.

Humayoun, the most amiable and not the least able of the rulers of the family of Timur, might never have known the bitterness of defeat and disaster if his brothers had only remained loyal in their allegiance to him. It is an old saying that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Humayoun is one of the most conspicuous examples in history of the truth of the apothegm, and of all such victims he seems to have been the most undeserving of such a catastrophe. As a soldier he was not less brave than his father, nor as a skilful leader, as leading was measured in those days, was he lacking in good sense and quickness of appreciation of the changes of the battle-field passing under his eye. If personal qualities were to insure success, his progress would have been guaranteed as likely to

prove steady and assured. But he could not control the course of events beyond his view, he could not cope with the adverse decrees that Fortune reserved for him. From the Hindus, the natives of the country, among whom no spark of patriotism glimmered, there was nothing for him to apprehend. But in the Afghan kings of Bengal and Behar he had to deal with men of sterner stuff. With his brothers he had to cope with his own kith and kin, imbued with the traditions of such a family of conquerors as the rest of the world had never known. The opening years of the new reign revealed no disquieting symptoms, and such encounters as occurred on the frontiers were generally successful and at all events unattended by reverses.

But it was not long before a presage of a different character presented itself. Kamran, not satisfied with his Afghan heritage, had come down into the Punjab and established himself at Lahore. Humayoun bought a hollow peace by surrendering that vást province. Hindal for the moment attached his fortunes to the side of Kamran. Emboldened by Humayoun's indulgence, Kamran seized Delhi and claimed the throne of India. At this juncture a more serious peril than had yet arisen appeared on the eastern frontier. The Afghan dynasty in Bengal had produced an able ruler in Sher Khan, and it was clear that it would need the united power of all Baber's sons to bring him to subjection. While Kamran was thinking only of his personal glory, Humayoun realised that the peril with which he had to cope would involve all of them in a common overthrow unless it were exorcised by their joint efforts. He offered his brothers the most ample

concessions if only they would join him, and at the same time, to strengthen his arguments, he warned them that their family quarrels could only have one result—in the ruin of their father's work. He spoke truly, but the catastrophe was nearer than he imagined. Sher Khan proposed a pacific conclusion of their strife, but it was only with a sinister object in view. Humayoun was glad to give his assent because it promised to provide an escape from his most pressing difficulty. If his brothers would not help him, they were public enemies, and he would know how to deal with them as soon as he was rid of Sher Khan.

Sher Khan had proposed peace with the set purpose of lulling his adversary into a mood of self-confidence. He had no false brothers in his rear, and his only thought was to win the war. The lapse on the part of an experienced soldier like Humayoun was all the more surprising because at that moment his camp lay on the wrong side of the Ganges, which he had not succeeded in bridging. This unaccountable blunder can only be explained by his sense of the grave peril in which Kamran's defection had placed him. In this position Humayoun was taken by surprise, his camp carried by storm, and his army overwhelmed and dispersed. Many of his best officers and men were drowned in attempting to cross the river. Humayoun owed his own escape to the fortunate discovery of a boat, and hastened to Agra, where in this great emergency he still hoped to enlist Kamran's co-operation in a common cause. Kamran, however, proved obdurate, but, realising the peril of the moment, gathered his forces together and quickly retreated to Delhi. Humayoun,

thus left alone, made a brief stand against Sher Khan, whose successes were mainly due to the skill of his general, Himu; but before the summer of 1541 was over he was expelled from India and compelled to seek refuge in Persia. Kamran retained Afghanistan, but refused his brother shelter and hospitality. The Turk, or Mogul, Empire had thus collapsed within twelve years of its creation by its founder, Baber. Was this really to be its end? No one at the time would have expressed a favourable opinion on its chances of resuscitation.

The Moslems from Central Asia had thus been expelled from India by other Moslems, chiefly of Afghan descent, who had been long established in that country. The Hindus had nothing to do with it. They were quiet and obedient underneath their masters. There is nothing to show that they had *the slightest inclination to independence*. They seem never to have acquired that sentiment until they were taught the English tongue.

On what were supposed to be the ruins of the Mogul sway, Sher Shah, adopting the kingly style, set up a new autocracy. He proclaimed himself emperor in Delhi and he established himself in Agra. He was an able administrator as well as a capable and cunning general. Ferishta describes some of his reforms which were innovations in Indian experience. From Bengal to Scinde, a distance of 3,000 miles, he built caravanserais, or rest-houses, at every stage, and he sank wells at intervals of two miles. He planted rows of fruit-trees along the roads to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun as well as to gratify their taste. Horse posts were placed at proper distances for forward-

ing quick intelligence and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. These postal facilities were previously unknown in India. Such was the public security during his reign that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went, without fear, to sleep on the highway. Of Sher Shah it has been said that he provided Akbar with an example.

The Sher, or Patan, dynasty, produced five rulers after the death of its leading member. They were long oblivious of their impending fate, for beyond the passes Humayoun in these years had gathered together fresh elements of strength. The Shah Tamas of Persia proved a generous host, and after two years' stay he agreed to provide the exile with an army to enable him to recover Afghanistan, where Kamran still held undisputed sway. Having made himself master of Candahar, which was placed temporarily in the hands of the Persians, Humayoun marched upon Cabul in the summer of 1545, which was taken without resistance, for Kamran had made himself unpopular and was deserted by most of his followers. Even his brother Hindal now went over to Humayoun. At Cabul Humayoun had the pleasure of recovering possession of his infant son Akbar, born in the desert in 1541 during his flight from India, and it was reported that, with prophetic insight, raising the child in his arms, he exclaimed: "Joseph by his envious brethren was cast into a well, but he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory."

During seven years the struggle for supremacy in Afghanistan continued between Humayoun and Kamran. Three times did the former capture Cabul, three times did he lose it. Hindal was slain in one

of these fraternal encounters, and Kamran fled to the Indian borderlands, only to be given up by a chief more sensible of the power of gold than of the laws of hospitality. Reluctantly Humayoun assented to the wishes of his omrahs to blind his formidable rival, and, having obtained permission to perform the Hej, Kamran eventually died at Mecca. A turbulent and envious spirit thus passed to its rest. Humayoun had at last settled accounts with his brothers, who, as he correctly informed the Persian ruler when his guest at Isfahan, had been the cause of his overthrow in Hindustan; but this triumph was very far short of revealing any likelihood of the recovery of India. We do not know whether Humayoun was at that moment very hopeful or even desirous of such a recovery. But such thoughts were revived by the tidings from India.

The Sher dynasty was in a state of rapid decline, turbulence swayed the realm, brother warred with brother. It seemed to many of the Indian Moslems that the return of Humayoun might be their salvation, so they sent him promises of aid and the assurance of their welcome. Humayoun was dubious and he sent three messengers independently to ascertain and report on the lay of the land. Each reported having met and talked with travellers of auspicious names. One was named Dowlut, another Murad, and the third Saadat. Those names in their order signify Fortune, Desire, and Happiness. The auspices were deemed propitious, and Humayoun accepted the invitation. Thirty years after his father first crossed the Indus he followed in his traces. He had no more than 15,000 chosen horsemen, but by his side were his great general, Bairam, and his son

Akbar, young but eager of spirit, framed in the same mould as his famous grandfather. The star of the Moguls was once more in the ascendant.

Humayoun's progress was even more rapid than his father's had been. Lahore surrendered without a blow. A battle followed near Paniput, in which the Afghan power fell for ever, and Humayoun was proclaimed emperor for a second time in Delhi. His tenure of power was brief, as Fate cut the string of its enjoyment. While engaged in prayer he slipped down the staircase of a lofty terrace in the palace and died from the shock. He was only fifty-one, and few men have ever seen such trials and tribulations. Ferishta well summed up his character: "The mildness and benevolence of Humayoun was excessive, if there can be any excess in virtues so noble as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes, but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of men of genius who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprising, but the clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of his time. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince. Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch."

At the time of his father's death in 1555, Akbar was nearly fourteen years of age, but, young as he was, he had already given proof of his powers and shown himself worthy of the throne. Humayoun's death revived the hopes of the King of Bengal, and these were strengthened when his general, Himu, captured Agra, nor did his success stop

there, for he occupied Delhi shortly afterwards. In this emergency Akbar placed all his confidence in Bairam Khan, who was acting as regent. In this he was justified by the event, for Bairam advanced to meet Himu, whom he found drawn up on the memorable field of Paniput. Himu, like Pyrrhus, trusted to his elephants, 3,000 in number, but, as at Beneventum, they were startled and stampeded, carrying confusion amidst the ranks of their own side instead of the foe. Himu, badly wounded, was taken prisoner and brought before Akbar, who would have spared him, but the more resolute Bairam drew his sword and cut off his head at a stroke, exclaiming to Akbar that the ill-timed clemency of his family in the past had been the cause of all their misfortunes. Notwithstanding this and many other signal services, Bairam fell into discredit. He was of too masterful a character to preserve for any length of time the confidence of a prince who felt capable of ruling the empire by and for himself. When Akbar was in his eighteenth year he dismissed Bairam from all his offices, and advised him, in the form of command, to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca, to which he assented. But on his way he was assassinated by an Afghan chief whose father he had slain with his own hand at Paniput. Such was the ignominious end of the mighty Bairam, the most famous and the most powerful of all the omrahs who served the house of Timur.

It is unnecessary to describe the course of Akbar's reign. During thirty years he was engaged in unceasing campaigns with the object of establishing the power and authority of his

family in India on a stable footing. He completely subdued Bengal, Gujerat, Central India, and Kashmir, and among the rulers of the Deccan he reduced Bijapur, the most powerful of those Moslem States, to the position of a vassal. He thus completed the task begun by Baber, and for which Humayoun was deprived of the means by his misfortunes, the greatest of which was his brothers' treachery. Of him Ferishta has written without exaggeration :

"Mahommed Akbar was a prince endowed with many shining virtues. His generosity was great and his clemency without bounds ; this latter virtue he often carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and in many instances passed the limits of that justice which he owed to the State ; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition and not from an effeminate weakness of mind. His character as a warrior was rather that of an intrepid partisan than of a great general ; he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and often attempted capital points without using that power which, at the time, he possessed. But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar ; he brought about at once by desperate means what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide that Hindustan, ever subject to the convulsion of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall of disciplined valour (soldiers) against the powers of the North, and by his own activity inspired his omrahs with enterprise.

"He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a

reputation for personal valour; he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history which is, in truth, the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse. In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes, and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king he never did anything unworthy of a good man."

There was another side of Akbar's work to which Ferishta does not refer, and that will come under consideration in the next chapter. It relates to the art of government. The Mogul conquest of India may be considered as completed and assured by Akbar during a reign of over fifty years. With the exception of the brief expeditions he undertook against some of the princes of Rajputana, his wars were waged against his co-religionists. It was over Moslems that he triumphed, just as his grandfather Baber had done. The Hindus were incapable of resistance. They never manifested any signs of claiming that independence which their modern representatives so loudly clamour for to-day. They accepted their fate passively; they could not do otherwise, for arms and they were strangers. Is there any reason to suppose that the descendants of the men who would not defend their homes against Baber and Akbar are to-day of better mettle? If Hinduism has no worthier representatives than the loud-voiced and quarrelsome Bengalis, then an unhesitating answer would have to be given in the negative. Of course there are some Hindus—such as the Sikhs and the Marathas, both minorities—

with whom the first Mogul conquerors never came in contact that may be classed of superior quality and entitled under every aspect to respect, and no doubt if India ever comes again to be subdivided, as was her usual lot before the Mogul arrived, they would be entitled to obtain their share in a general partition. But it would not be in any India that preserved its unity. In default of British control, resigned in weariness or disgust, that unity could only be revived and sustained by the Moslems recruited, as they would be, by their kinsmen and co-religionists from the regions beyond the north-west frontier.

It is the appreciation of these facts, which do not seem to be understood by English politicians, and the consciousness of their own worth and dignity that make the Moslems of India so tenacious of their rights, so resentful of their attempted infraction by races for whom, in the historical sense, they can only feel contempt and derision. To tell them that the Hindus are to be the future masters of India inspires them with wonder as to the mental calibre of the persons who can credit such fairy-tales. Not only are the Moslems fully conscious of their innate power, but the Hindus have not been so completely imbued with the indulgence of their newly developed megalomania as to be unaware of it, or to persuade themselves that a purely numerical total has ever sufficed to support a sway. If so, lions would have no chance among sheep. It is the sense of this inferiority—for it is nothing else—that makes the Hindus so clamorous and energetic in urging the British public, and the leaders of that public, to suppress and humiliate the Moslems and to regard themselves as the sole spokesmen of India. By this

proceeding they hope, through British agency, to so depress and humiliate the Moslems that they may sink into a condition of such hopeless political inferiority that they will thus leave their detractors and enemies in a state of unassailable superiority. There was a time when the Mahomedans of India were somewhat indifferent to the educational requirements of modern life and clung too tenaciously to the customs of the past, but that mood has passed never to return. It is now fully realised that to hold one's own in a world of keen competition, not confined to any single race or country, it is necessary to be abreast of the age, and to remember that enlightenment and intelligence will carry the palm. The Moslems of India may have some leeway to make up, but their interest and understanding are thoroughly aroused. They are resolved to play their part under the new conditions not less thoroughly and successfully than their ancestors did under the old, and they will not cede their rights to any who may choose to assail them in the belief that they are still slumbering.

CHAPTER II

THE MOGUL GOVERNMENT

LEST it be concluded from what precedes that the Mogul rulers were only conquerors and destroyers, some account must be given of the regular and efficient government they set up in India. Even the formidable Timur had organised an admirable administration, and based his authority on the soundest maxims of public equity. He did not apply them during his brief raid into India, but there is no reason to doubt that his own subjects in his natal kingdom of Samarcand were ruled with justice and lenity. Moreover, his conduct in his own dominion was always held up as their model by his descendants, Baber and Akbar. Their inspiring ideal was to give practical effect to Timur's institutes. Long before such necessaries were thought of or provided in India, Timur had established along the great routes of his empire rest-houses and wells for the use of travellers, and his postal service was remarkable above all his contemporaries for the rapidity with which intelligence was conveyed from the limits of his possessions to the capital. His precepts for the taxing of the people and the collection of the revenues were excellent, and there is no doubt that so far as his own subjects were concerned, they were faithfully observed. He wrote :

"I ordered that on no account should more than the established taxes and duties be demanded. In every province I appointed two supervisors—one of

them to control the collections and watch over the interests of the inhabitants that they might not be impoverished, and that those in authority over them might not ill-treat or oppress them ; and the other to keep a register of the public expenses and distribute the revenues so as to meet the pay of the soldiers. I also ordered that the collection of the taxes might, when necessary, be enforced by menaces and threats, but never by whips and scourges, for the governor whose authority requires to be supported by the scourge is unworthy to govern. Above all, the taxes must not be collected in such a manner as might be productive of ruin to the subject or of depopulation to the country."

Timur made no attempt to apply these principles to India, which he regarded as an infidel State, but his descendants, when they came to fill its throne, did. Baber having decided on establishing his rule in India, which he did by fixing his capital so far within the country as Agra, enjoined his officers and governors to act with moderation towards the inhabitants of the country, and he set his face against any discrimination in favour of his own people. This step was, perhaps, the easier of adoption because his opponents were not the natives, but other Moslems who had previously established themselves in the land by force of arms. But Baber had no time to enforce his precepts or to establish a stable administration. His conquest of India was not completed, and he had had no opportunity of exchanging the rôle of a stern conqueror for that of a beneficent ruler when he died. Humayoun was imbued with his father's views, and by character he was even more disposed to lenience, but his troubles and mis-

fortunes left him no leisure for the creation of a necessarily complicated administration. During the prime of his life he was not even a conqueror, but a fugitive, and when he returned to India on the crest of a victorious movement, which was to place the Moguls permanently on the throne of Delhi, an ill-timed accident ended his life, leaving this task to be accomplished by others. The following estimate of his character by a contemporary Moslem historian, Nizam-ud-din-Ahmad, will show that Humayoun was well equipped by character and training to prove himself a beneficent ruler:

"Humayoun reigned for more than twenty-five years. His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage he excelled all the princes of the time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to have maintained his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. The light of favour shone on men of worth and ability during his reign. He was devout and ceremonious in all religious observances. His fortitude was revealed most clearly in the days of tribulation."

When Akbar took up the task of providing India with a regular and efficient government, he had behind him the exhortations of his grandfather and the example of his father. Their principal object was to inculcate the practice of moderation and to show that even a conquered people have to be conciliated. Akbar realised that such a task as he had to accomplish could not be achieved by himself

alone. He needed wise counsellors, able administrators, and devoted servants. That he found them was due to his perspicuity in judging the worth and character of men; that he kept them attached to his person and cause through a long life must be attributed to his inspiring influence and example. They worked together, but the servants worked the better because none worked harder than the King. Among these helpmates two stand out in brilliant pre-eminence—Abul Fazl, the Wazir, and Todar Mal, the Finance Minister of the Council; the one a Moslem from Afghanistan, the other a Hindu from Bengal, who had served his apprenticeship under Sher Shah. The composite nature of his Council shows that Akbar had no intention of forcing the creed of Mahomed upon his Indian subjects. The first article in his political programme was to be religious tolerance. No one was to be molested on account of his faith.

Abul Fazl laid down the objects of his sovereign's policy in the following passage, for although the Minister put down the words on paper, there is no doubt that they came from Akbar's mouth:

"It is generally agreed that the noblest employments are the reformation of the manners of the people, the advancement of agriculture, the regulation of the offices, and the discipline of the army; and these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of the finances and exact economy in the expenses of the State, but when these are kept in view every class of people enjoy prosperity."

The basis of the stability of a State and the prosperity of a nation can only be discovered in a sound

system of finance. The revenue must be derived from a just share in the results of the agriculture, commerce. and mineral or vegetable products of the country. It should represent the surplus over and above the needs of the community that may properly fall to the share of the Government for the maintenance of the security of the kingdom. If the revenue exceeds that legitimate share, it follows that the community must suffer through the abstraction of some part of its required sustenance. On the other hand, the Government must not be defrauded of its dues, for otherwise the Commonwealth will pass into a state of embarrassment which must be followed by decay and dissolution.

As in most countries, the land and its effective cultivation provides, and has always provided in India, the main source of the public revenue. The first part of the problem to be solved is to fix on a just measure for the State's share. We do not know how or why the great conqueror Timur fixed upon one-third of the gross produce from the land as the fair share of the Government, but at all events he did so, and this decision was carried on as a tradition by his descendants after they had established their sway in India. But the proper application of this percentage bristled with difficulties and left the door open to many abuses. The returns of the harvests continually varied through natural causes; the collectors of revenue would expect, if they did not exact, fixed amounts in accordance with the previous totals, and if they were not forthcoming it necessarily followed that the public revenue would often be in serious deficit, and the collectors themselves liable to be called to account to explain the falling

off in the returns. The collectors, desiring to avert unpleasant consequences to themselves, resorted to what seemed to them the easiest way out of their difficulty. They made up the deficit by requiring a higher share than allowed on the statute. Akbar was fully alive to the fact that, however perfect his edicts might read on paper, their excellence could be only established in practice, and that provision had to be made against the occurrence of corruption and other abuses of authority.

With that end in view, he ordered a careful survey of the land to be made in each of the fifteen subas, or governorships, into which he divided India. The surveys completed, the productiveness of the land was thoroughly examined and the values of the respective harvests officially recorded. On these returns the quotas due to the State in respect of land duty were estimated. Authorities differ widely in their statements as to Akbar's total annual revenue, but the most moderate place that from land alone at 25,000,000 sterling. Before his time the collectors of revenue had been allowed to pay themselves out of the produce of the harvests. This pernicious practice was abolished, the collectors receiving fixed salaries from the State. The husbandmen were spared illicit or excessive exactions, and the officials were kept in proper subjection to the Government represented by the subadar in each province. Akbar took into consideration the distress caused by failure of the crops. In such circumstances he decreed that taxes were to be reduced or, in extreme cases, remitted. His orders to revenue collectors were probably unique in the records of official instructions :

"The collector must consider himself the immediate friend of the taxpayer; he must not require the intervention of any intermediary; his relations with his clients must be personal; he is to assist the embarrassed cultivator with loans of money, and to be willing to receive payments due to him at deferred and convenient intervals. He may also reward skilful management shown in the development and improvement of the lands. His demands for taxes are never to exceed the amounts agreed upon, and new vexatious levies of any kind are prohibited. He should never forget that the proper way of collecting taxes is to do so by kindness and consideration." The spirit of Akbar's instructions might be passed on to Somerset House as an inspiring stimulation with some such heading as "The Tax Collector the Taxpayer's Friend."

These were not idle sermons on a standard of perfection. They were definite orders, and as long as Akbar lived they had to be obeyed. Even for a century after his death they remained more or less in force. If his principles were remarkable for their humanity in regard to taxation, they were not less distinguished for indulgence and enlightenment in the dispensation of justice. Akbar was, perhaps, the first ruler over a great empire to realise, and to show by acts that he realised, that authority must be based on law, and that law itself only existed by the merit of even-handed justice. The laws have to be good and sound in themselves, and then those who enforce them have to be beyond price or suspicion. Akbar's orders to the judges (kazis) were explicit: "They were to be impartial, they were to be free of the slightest taint of corruption, and

they were to make a clear distinction between the oppressed and the oppressor. They were, before everything, to prevent their courts being made an instrument of tyranny by the powerful over the poor." The exhortation to the subadars, who were in authority over the kazis, and who possessed the exclusive control of capital offences, was of the same character. They were to see that those who applied for justice should not be subjected to any long delay in obtaining a hearing, and, above all, they were not to take away life except after careful consideration of all the circumstances.

There was another official called the kotwal, who was in the closest contact of all with the mass of the community. In the villages he was the head man and general consultant. For those who were without work he had to take steps to provide it; those who were ignorant of any trade, he had to arrange for their instruction, idleness, in the Emperor's opinion, being the root of all evil. He was to set an example to his neighbours by his honesty and rectitude of conduct. He had to attend to the sobriety of the district by prohibiting the drinking of spirituous liquors in public, but he was to make no attempt to discover what men did in private, a concession which might be submitted for the consideration of legislators in the United States at the present time.

Akbar patronised trade and industry not less than he promoted the cultivation of the land. One of his first decrees was to reduce the State tax on manufactured articles by one-half—from 10 to 5 per cent. He realised that trade can only be carried on by means of a standard coin of fixed value. He

created a mint and gave great attention to establishing a true standard of measurement. He fully appreciated the significance of the term "intrinsic value," and he patronised alchemy to attain in the laboratory the fineness and purity of metals, and he gave his own personal attention to the mixture of suitable alloys. Finally, he knew that to pass current a coin must be convenient to handle and not too bulky for the pocket or the purse, and that it is an extra attraction to give it an artistic form. In his reign the ornamentation was confined to a scroll or legend.

In the social customs of India Akbar found much of which he disapproved. He was opposed to polygamy for the mass of the people. He thought one wife was sufficient for men in the ordinary walks of life. He explained his own harem, or, rather, got Abul Fazl to justify it, on the ground of political expediency. It was explained that he was thus enabled to establish alliances abroad and still more usefully at home with some of the major ruling princes of India. His marriage with the Princess of Jodhpore, the mother of his successor, Jehangir, is a memorable event, for at the same time that he gained a Rajput bride he secured the services of her brother, the famous soldier, Raja Maun Sing. But outside the royal circle he supported monogamy. He was still more opposed to the practice of infantile marriage which prevailed and still prevails among the Hindus. He declared that, in his opinion, "the consent of both bride and bridegroom," as well as the permission of the parents, was an indispensable condition prior to marriage, but it does not appear certain that his order ever had the binding force of

law. The greatest reformers generally meet with some obstacle that cannot be overcome or removed in their generation. Akbar was more successful in reducing the practice of sati—the immolation of widows on their husbands' biers—by making the woman's consent an indispensable condition. There appears no reason to doubt that he often attended the funerals in disguise to see that his orders were obeyed. This was nearly 300 years before Lord William Bentinck passed the law abolishing this barbarous heathen custom.

There was another side of Akbar's character that invites consideration, more especially as it related to his political actions in establishing Mogul authority in India. In this matter he had to proceed on his own initiative, for his predecessors had provided no formula for him in regard to religious toleration. When Timur invaded India he justified his step by declaring that he was making war on the infidel. There was no indication in the language or deeds of Baber and Humayoun that they intended placing Hindus on a level in religious rights and privileges with Moslems. Experience might have generated such a sentiment, but the circumstances did not allow of their making any attempt to practise it. When Akbar took his place on the throne of Delhi he had certainly no definitely formed opinion in the matter. He had been brought up in a strict school, and his guide and guardian, Bairam, was a Moslem zealot. Moreover, political uncertainties rendered the situation obscure. The conquest of India had recommenced, but no one could feel sure how it would proceed. The religion of the Hindus was not a burning subject for the Moslems until

they had been turned into subjects. It was only after consummation that Akbar began to consider seriously what policy he should follow in regard to the Hindu masses, who so completely outnumbered not only his own small band, but the other Moslem princes and peoples whom he had gathered up under the mantle of his authority. It was clear to him at a glance that wholesale proselytism by force of arms was out of the question. It would have been repugnant to his disposition to have attempted it even if his political judgment had allowed him to entertain the idea. A clear indication of his views and intentions was afforded when he dismissed Bairam Khan, the champion of extreme measures, from his Council.

Originally the law of Moslem States was based simply and solely on the Koran, and obviously it could not be applied in either theory or practice to non-Moslems. This was particularly the case in India, where Hindus had their own system of laws based on the code of Manu. Akbar left the situation undisturbed. The Moslems had the Shariat; the Hindus were left under their own laws, on the condition that they were loyal to the State, and did not harbour treason to the established power. It was a wise and politic decision because it tabooed religious persecution. Abul Fazl provided the usual philosophical commentary: "Religious persecution, after all, defeats its own ends; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them." There is no reason to doubt that Akbar's toleration of his Hindu subjects' religious views and practices was based on the sound political conclusion that, their wholesale conversion being impossible,

the only alternative was to attempt no interference and to leave them strictly alone and undisturbed, not only in their religious observances, but in their own laws, so long as they did not imperil the safety of the country and the peace of the realm. To Akbar belongs the credit of initiating the policy of religious tolerance which was continued by the British when the supreme authority passed into their hands. Has not Tennyson recorded this fact in the words: "Akbar's tolerance of religion and his abhorrence of religious persecution put his contemporaries, our Tudors, to shame"?

From a purely spectacular point of view there is no doubt that the Mogul rulers erected a magnificent edifice of imperial power fully justifying their designation of the Great. Several English ambassadors, many European travellers and residents, French and Italian as well as English, testified to the splendour of their Court, far eclipsing anything in the West in respect of brilliance and luxury. Sir Thomas Roe has given a most vivid and interesting sketch of the Court of Akbar's son, Jehangir. Bernier and others have shown that his successor, Shah Jehan, sustained its lustre and brilliance undiminished. Everything was carried out on a large scale. The moving camps of the Emperor on circuit were large cities of canvas and silk with a circumference often of twenty miles, and accommodating as many thousands of inhabitants. The Emperor was accompanied by the ladies of the palace, and the courtier who was absent from these progresses esteemed himself unfortunate, for these were the occasions when the imperial power found its largest and most generous expression. The time was passed

in hunting and feasting. Even the ladies accompanied their lords, for it is recorded that the great Empress Nur Mahal shot a tiger from the Emperor's howda.. The feasting was on colossal proportions, and the expenditure on a State banquet sometimes exceeded £150,000, or fifteen lakhs of rupees. If there was one thing that impressed the foreigners more than another it was the quantity and variety of precious stones displayed on the Emperor's person and those whom he delighted to favour. But woe betide the thoughtless guest who chose a ruby, for that was the imperial monopoly, and it had to pay forfeit.

Sir Thomas Roe's description will bring the scene vividly before the reader and show that what has been said is free from exaggeration: "At one of my audiences I had a glimpse of his two principal wives. If there had been no other light their diamonds and pearls would have sufficed to show them. Then the King came down the stairs with such an acclamation of 'Health to the King' as would have outroared cannon. Then one of his servants came and girt on the King's sword, and hung on his buckler set all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts being of gold suitable. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of heron's feathers, not many but long. On one side of his turban hung a ruby, unset, as big as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald, like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearls, rubies, and diamonds drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of most excellent pearls, the largest I ever saw. Above his elbows armlets set with diamonds,

and on his wrist three rows of various sorts, his hands bare, but on almost every finger a ring."

Another Frenchman, Tavernier, the jeweller, was employed in the royal treasure house. He described the famous Peacock Throne which was valued at twelve millions sterling. One of its rubies was of immense size and bore the name of "The Tribute of the World." The royal treasure house overflowed with jewels and gold and silver. He wrote:

"In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the imperial jewel house, each one of which might serve as an eardrop for Venus. These were given to the chief goldsmith to make the famous throne. Its canopy was literally covered with gems, and was supported by twelve columns set with pearls. On the top of the canopy was a peacock with extended tail thick set with gems. The throne steps are incrusted with precious stones." This throne remained the wonder of India until it was carried off by the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, in 1739.

It must not be supposed that the greatness of the Mogul dynasty was only displayed in its lavish and ostentatious pomp. The Mogul emperors were never unconscious that these things pass away in human existence and have no trace. They saw the need of a permanent memorial just as the Pharaohs had done in Egypt. It was not alien to their origin that they should find it in mighty buildings. Timur had set his seal on the shrine of Samarcand. Even Baber, with no leisure from worldly cares, had built solid and square the imposing fort at Agra. Humayoun had relieved his filial gratitude in the graceful tomb to Baber outside Cabul, and when Humayoun

passed away his son Akbar erected the more stately mosque and cenotaph to his father that lies beyond the walls of Delhi. The custom extended more rapidly under the patronage and example of his two successors Jehangir and Shah Jehan.

Once upon a time there had been great builders among the earlier rulers of India, but their works had long disappeared, and remained only in a ruined state when the Moslems began to establish themselves in India. It seemed to the newcomers that the land was barren in monuments of architectural beauty or usefulness. There were no bridges, no aqueducts, no causeways. Such temples as had existed of Buddhist or Brahmanist faith and activity were concealed in caves or jungles. It was no one's business to search for them. The science of archæology had not been invented. Even if it had been it might not have stirred them to action. Let the past bury its dead, why resuscitate the disappearing emblems of ignorance and barbarism? The Moguls had begun a new era; in commemoration of that era they wished to leave some memorials that would defy the progress of time and the malignity of man. Can it be disputed that they provided such a memorial in the Taj Mahal?

Akbar must not be denied the credit of having originated the movement, although he made what might be termed a bad selection. He thought the foundation of a new capital would contribute most to the preservation of his fame, and if he had only taken into account human needs as well as architectural designs Futtehpore Sikri might have permanently superseded Agra. But the erection of palaces and council halls is not sufficient to provide

for the wants of a community; their inclusion behind lofty walls and imposing gateways falls far short of the essentials of a great city. There was no adequate supply of water, the frequented routes lay remote, and so Futtehpore Sikri never emerged from the stage of an infant prodigy among new capitals. After efforts covering eighteen years it was abandoned to pass into the ruined state in which it may be said still to survive.

The reign of Shah Jehan marked the acme of excellence in the art of architecture during the Mogul period. He was the richest of the Moguls; in his time the revenue reached its highest point. As far as a great empire can ever be said to be at peace that was the halcyon period under the fifth of the Moguls. Moreover, he had a great ideal in his devotion to his beautiful wife, Mumtaz i Mahal. Among the famous monuments of his reign was the Pearl Mosque at Agra, which has been styled by a Christian author "the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world." At Delhi he constructed the Great Mosque, and the imposing Royal Palace in which he placed the famous Peacock Throne. But of all his monuments it was the famous Taj that will ever be best remembered. It has been described as "a dream in marble designed by Titans and finished by jewellers." Tavernier, who had a hand in its execution, gives the best contemporary account of its form and erection: "Of all the tombs which one sees at Agra that of the wife of Shah Jehan is the most splendid. It is at the east end of the city by the side of the river, in a great square surrounded by walls. The square is a kind of garden, divided into compartments like our *parterres*,

but in the places where we put gravel there is white and black marble. I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly. Shah Jehan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plans, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it."

Aurangzeb was far too busily engaged in his wars in the Deccan and with the Marathas to find leisure to cultivate the arts, but he was responsible for the imposing mosque bearing his name at Benares which occupies a commanding site immediately above the chief bathing ghaut of the Hindus in the Ganges. Aurangzeb was the sixth in direct descent of the Great Moguls who ruled in India. As a military commander and an energetic ruler he was by no means the least able of them, and if he failed to measure correctly his own resources and those of his adversaries, strong in their natural defences behind the great rivers, Nerbudda and Godavery, he was the victim of unavoidable causes rather than of his own shortcomings. The true cause of the decline and fall of the Moguls was their cutting themselves apart from the races with a common origin. They became Indians, but consequently they ceased to be Turks. A cleavage was effected with their kith and kin beyond the passes, and thus the recruited element which had made the armies of Baber and Humayoun so formidable was eliminated. When the Afghans and Persians again intruded in India they saw in the Moguls not long lost brethren, but irreconcilable foes. It was the

disastrous inroads of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah that sapped the strength of the later Mogul Emperors and prepared the way for their downfall and disappearance. If the two conquerors named had only come with the intention of fortifying, even by supersession, the existing Moslem power in India instead of ruthlessly crippling and destroying it, there might still have been a Moslem dynasty ruling at Delhi as the successor of the Great Mogul.

Although Hindu writers of to-day would not be disposed to admit it, the Mogul dynasty exercised a strong fascination over the minds of their Indian subjects. Even at the height of their power, when they had reduced the Shah Alum to the position of a puppet, the Marathas never failed in their deference to the occupant of the Delhi throne. Their greatest chiefs acted in his name and by his authority, they sought investiture and titular honours at his hands, and their coins and seals proclaimed them to be the servants and subjects of the Mogul ruler. Even at the present day this fascination has not completely evaporated. It may not be generally known that it is still the practice at those Courts to bestow on dignitaries and officials Moslem as well as Hindu titles of honour. Even in nationalist records the Mogul rule in India will not be denied a conspicuous and honourable place.

CHAPTER III

THE STATISTICAL SIDE OF THE QUESTION

ALTHOUGH subject to the reservations already made the statistical side of any question has still its due measure of importance. All that need be contended for here is that statistics must not stand alone and left without the essential explanations. It is not to be obscured, for instance, that the total population of British India and the Indian States was returned in the Census of 1921 at 318,942,480 souls, and that of the total 68,735,233 individuals were Moslems. Under any circumstances it would be rash to class any community of nearly 70,000,000 as a minority; under those exposed in the two preceding chapters it would seem especially hazardous. There are other highly important communities in India to which the term would more justly apply, although, for other reasons than those represented by figures, it would be deemed unseemly to do so. There is the European community of 175,737 persons, the Anglo-Indian numbering 113,000, and the Parsi of little over 100,000. These are minorities, but their weight in the human scale of India does not rest on mere figures.

The totals of the Hindu cults require close analysis. The Census reporter, grouping all shades and distinctions under the single head of Brahmanic, gives us the imposing total of 216,260,620; but this has to be subdivided into a great number of

castes, of which he confines himself to enumerating nearly ninety. Some well-qualified observers have declared there to be 3,000 castes of one category or another. The main fact that emerges from this subdivision is that the Brahmans constitute no more than 14,250,000 of the grand total. It is also to be noticed that among these Hindu castes are classes, totalling not less than 60,000,000, whom the Brahmans consign to permanent inferiority amounting to nothing less than social ostracism expressed in the contemptuous term of "the untouchables." It does not appear from observation and experience that these so-called "untouchables," or pariahs of the Indian race, are in any mental or moral sense inferior to those other members of the Hindu communities who class themselves as the elect. Brahmanic intolerance based on the desire to maintain their own autocratic pre-eminence and special class privileges deliberately assigned them inferior places in the social system so that they should be retained in a permanent state of bondage as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and so long as the Brahmans retain their hold over the illiterate classes the untouchables will never be permitted to emerge from that position by breaking the chains in which they have allowed themselves to be bound for centuries. Their redemption can only proceed from themselves, but, at least, they should be assured that they can count on the sympathy and love of justice of the British Government and the hearty co-operation of the Moslem community in attaining their liberty. The political side of this age-long problem must come henceforth more prominently into view, and if a prophecy might be indulged in it seems not

improbable that the day may come when the Moslems, joining hands with the untouchables, will discover that they constitute, not minorities, but a clear majority of the Indian nation. Moreover, it is among the untouchables that Islam should find the most promising field of propagandism.

Enough has been written to show that the so-called Hindu majority is very much of a myth. It is something like a snowball; with a little prodding it melts. Of course the Brahmans, whose powers of insinuation and misrepresentation are unrivalled, and in comparison with whom the Jesuits are but novices, will appeal to figures and to figures alone. They serve their argument, they seem to justify the pre-eminence that prolongs their existence as the over-lords of India; prince and peasant being merged in the same subjection. That the prince is more subjected than the peasant is unquestionable. He provides the better mark for extortion. The late Maharaja Scindia once ran down a cow in his motor-car. He declared that he had been paying annually for this sin till the end of his days. A priestly tyranny has ever been the worst to bear no matter what the nominal dispensation may have been. Being based on weakness it has had, for its own self-preservation, to rely mainly on intolerance and caste exclusiveness. The credulity of the masses of mankind has provided the counterfoil.

While the Hindus present on analysis a discordant and disunited collection of congregations with no predominant centrical conviction or ideal, the Moslems form a solid body animated by a single overmastering conviction in the supremacy of their Deity, and guided by the exhortations and admoni-

tions of the Koran, to which Hindu devotees can produce no rival. Islam represents not only a virile but a visible religion. Hinduism is more or less of a mystery, of which the Brahmans are alone allowed to hold the key. Should the spell ever be broken, the cleavage that must follow would be nothing short of complete dissolution. The Hindu majority rests, then, on insecure foundations, the subsoil may repose on a quicksand.

It may be retorted that the Moslems are not themselves united in their own body, because there are Sunnis and Shias. But between these two divisions there is no fundamental difference in religion, laws, or political opinion. They accept different points of view with regard to the Prophet's immediate successors and interpreters, but, except on rare occasions and in special localities—such as Kerbela—this variance in practice produces no discordant note of animosity, much less any of those violent clashes of enmity which have separated the Maratha from the Jat, and the Jat from the Sikh. Except on the rare occasions when the political influence of Persia, the centre of the Shia community, has intruded within the limits of India, the two divisions of Islam have lived in harmony and acted in unison. Even in recent years, during the period when the wrongful and foolish oppression of Turkey, mainly through the ignorant prejudice of American proselytism, stirred the body of Islam to the heart, Sunni and Shia felt and acted together in the interest of the great Sunni Empire of the Ottomans, which was the embodiment of their political power and fame. In Islam, so far as its rights and needs are involved or expressed, there is not, nor

has there ever been, any division of opinion or separation in action. The solidarity of the Indian Moslems is intact and impervious to the shafts of the envious.

The solidarity of the Indian Moslems was so evident and imposing that the Hindu arch-propagandist, Mr. Gandhi, at an early stage of his campaign, resolved to win them over to his cause. He saw and seized the opportunity when the excitement and indignation of the Moslems at the wrongs of Turkey and the humiliation of the Sultan were at their height, and had found expression in the Khilafat Movement. Mr. Gandhi showed no small political instinct when he took over the Moslems' wrongs and made them the chief point in his programme. A Hindu zealot at the head of a Moslem party smarting under the sense of an unmerited injury was a new departure in Indian politics, and would have been of the deepest significance if it could only have endured. But Mr. Gandhi's sincerity was soon shown to be hollow, and the adherence of his followers to the new arrangement of regarding the Moslems as equal in brotherhood proved even more ephemeral. During this period a change, too, was passing over the minds of Europe. The American influence diminished, as it was made clear in older and more experienced States that their representatives had been deciding questions with regard to which they had no competence. The Old World began to see that it must bear its burdens and face its responsibilities without the intrusion, or, at least, the direction, of the New. France and Italy revolted from the Pan-Hellenism of Lloyd George. Great Britain held out her hand of reconciliation to Angora. The Treaty of Sèvres was dropped and

a new era commenced of which the end cannot be foreseen. The Khilafat Movement had attained its object, not by the boycott of Mr. Gandhi, but by the growth of a healthier mode of reasoning in Europe, originating, no doubt, in the stanch consistency of those British friends of Islam who in its darkest hour had never wavered in their convictions or failed in their expression.

It does not appear that Mr. Gandhi, or any other Hindu leader, quite realised what had occurred out of India and how far its repercussion would influence opinion and give a new shape to movements within it. But, without doubt, the glowing example of Mustapha Kemal has revived the drooping spirits of the Moslem communities and led them to realise that their progress depends on their own efforts, and not on the hollow and false promises of Hindu intriguers who have all along been seeking to make them the cat's-paw of their own designs. A great responsibility lies on our Mussulman leaders to point out the right way in these critical times, and especially to avoid the pitfalls created by oratorical declamation and to pursue only those ends which are practical and supported by sound reason. Their goal must be the preservation of our rights and of our security as citizens, and that accomplished, our only thoughts should be towards raising our co-religionists in the social scale by spreading the gifts of knowledge and eugenic conditions among all of them. In those respects it will not be difficult for the Indian Moslems to set a shining example to those Hindus who have clung tenaciously to the heathenish practices of their remote ancestors.

The Hindus have cast a slur on the Mahomedans

of India for having been backward in taking up what may be called, for the purpose of distinction, English education; and, certainly, British officials were formerly in the habit of explaining the deficiency of posts in the service that were filled by Mahomedans to their not having adopted and persisted in the acquisition of that form of education which is necessary to pass the examinations under the competitive system. This criticism sounded strangely in the mouths of those who benefited by what was characterised as Moslem backwardness, for the fact was patent that the Bengalis, who, while young, possess an exceptional capacity for cramming, enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the acquisition of official posts. As long as these sufficed in number to satisfy their expectations they were quiescent, but since the supply of candidates, in annually increasing volume, has far exceeded not only the vacancies in State service, but also the openings in what are known as the professions, the residuum of the unemployed have turned their attention to politics, and believe themselves to be fully qualified to perform the task of governing their part of the country. They forget that, to govern a State, much more is required than the ability to fail or even to succeed in a competitive examination. Character, judgment, impartiality, and the sane mind in the healthy body are more essential than the capacity to turn out an essay on some historical subject of no importance if the nation is to be happy, prosperous, and secure.

The reader must not be deprived of the advantage of having the statistics relating to education in India placed before him or her in a convenient and simple

form. But it is not necessary to include in the survey more than the six principal divisions, whose numbers are to be counted in millions. They are Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Animistics, Christians, and Sikhs. With regard to the Christians, it may be particularised that these are Indian proselytes, mainly Roman Catholics, in Southern India, where Portuguese missionaries began to work in the sixteenth century. Apart from that episode, Christian proselytism in India has been very small, and the British Government has always set its face against interference with the religions observed in the peninsula.

MALES.

	Total Population.	*Illiterate.*	*Literate.*	*Literate in English.*
Hindus ...	110,898,703	98,114,846	12,783,857	1,579,388
Mahomedans	35,967,380	33,046,931	2,920,449	306,275
Buddhists ...	5,716,211	2,947,266	2,768,945	48,555
Animistic ...	4,895,422	4,826,354	69,068	2,693
Christians ...	2,456,629	1,697,344	759,285	277,177
Sikhs	1,844,483	1,671,204	173,279	21,272

FEMALES.

	Total Population.	*Illiterate.*	*Literate.*	*Literate inEnglish.*
Hindus ...	105,828,980	104,372,567	1,456,413	68,562
Mahomedans	32,703,357	32,461,241	242,096	9,078
Buddhists ...	5,855,024	5,291,833	563,191	6,578
Animistic ...	4,878,237	4,872,056	1,181	198
Christians ...	2,297,309	1,882,675	414,634	138,566
Sikhs	1,393,770	1,374,522	19,248	655

If the above figures, taking those for the males first, are carefully analysed, it will be seen that the illiterates in the Hindu and Mahomedan communities bear very much the same ratio to their total populations. In the case of the former it is 88·5 of their total, and in that of the latter 91·8. Consequently, the literates among the Hindus are 11·5 of the population, and only 8·2 among the Mahomedans. When it is borne in mind that a large part of the Moslems inhabit frontier provinces and include tribes that have never practised a settled life, with the consequence that education in the sense of school instruction has never existed among them, and that, on the other hand, the bulk of the Hindus inhabit Bengal and urban districts generally, where facilities for education are convenient and abundant, the difference is almost negligible, and that the development of the educational movement which has already set in among good and progressive Moslems is alone needed to establish a more equal position.

Of the literate Hindus, 1,579,388 are literates in English, representing 12·5 per cent. of the total, while of the Mahomedans the total is only 306,275, or 11 per cent. This difference is explained by the start the Bengalis secured immediately after the adoption of the English language as the vehicle of public instruction under Lord Macaulay's lead in Lord William Bentinck's time. That impetus was immensely increased when the services were thrown open to public competition after the transfer of authority from the Company to the Crown. Indeed, there can be hardly any doubt that but for the visible signs that the openings in the public service must, in the nature of things, prove limited, it is more than

females have increased enormously of recent years. In 1924, there were 25 colleges and 25,910 schools set apart for their instruction, with an attendance for the former of 1,387 and for the latter of 989,197. These figures show that an immense development must ensue in that vast body composing almost half the nation which has hitherto been voiceless and unseen behind the four walls of each house. In India, on account of that seclusion, the change must be more remarkable than in those lands where the emergence of women into public life has been more gradual and more expected than with us. The suddenness of the change is not the least striking feature in this human phenomenon. It behoves the men of India to prepare in order to adapt themselves with proper restraint and endurance to the new order of things that seems so near at hand, and which is far more pregnant with important changes and consequences to the community than the ordinary political questions and disputes of the day.

The subject of education in India, and, more especially, of education on English lines, cannot be mentioned without bringing to mind some of the doubts and difficulties that occurred to the old school of British educationalists, known as the Orientalists, in the great controversy of 1834. At that time, instruction was given, not in English, but in Persian, Arabic, Sanscrit and its minor offshoots, Hindi, etc. The Indian officials were chosen for their knowledge of the people and their province, and acquaintance with English was not obligatory. It was the British officials who had to master one or two of the vernaculars to converse with their subordinates. All official

documents of an international nature were drafted in Persian, which the Moguls had substituted as the Court language for the previously existing Arabic. The Orientalists stoutly defended the continuance of this system, alleging that it was essential to the immediate interests and future political status of Indians. But they overlooked one thing. Had the old system been retained and the Oriental languages left undisturbed, there would have been an insuperable barrier between British and Indian public servants, and the latter could never have hoped to emerge from a subordinate position. They would have remained a class apart, and as their share in the administration by the mere weight of numbers and the increase in responsibility was bound to attain preponderance, the position would very soon have become irksome and irritating.

From that point of view Lord Macaulay's vigorous support of the adoption of English as the official language was justifiable and beyond challenge. By no other method could the doors of the public service be opened without favour to all British-Indian subjects in accordance with the clause of the Parliament India Act of 1833, proclaiming "the right of all natives of India so qualified to admission to the higher appointments in the service." The regulation of March 7, 1835, passed under Macaulay's lead, gave practical effect to the Act by making English the official language. Twenty years later Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been prominent among the Anglicists in 1834, giving evidence before the Parliamentary Committee considering the question of the renewal of the Company's Charter, laid down a principle that

was the logical sequel of these measures: "To Lord William Bentinck belongs the great praise of having placed our dominion in India on its proper foundation in the recognition of the great principle that India is to be governed for the benefit of the Indians, and that the advantages which we derive from it should only be such as are incidental to and inferential from that course of proceeding." In 1858, on the assumption of direct authority by the Crown, Queen Victoria, in her noble Proclamation, issued, be it remembered, while the crisis of the Mutiny was still acute, confirmed all these principles and procedures in the declaration: "It is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

The most admirable principles and the most excellent measures, when they come to be applied in practice, must inevitably encounter difficulties that their authors had not foreseen and taken into sufficient account. The British authorities, who were established in India by no other right than that of conquest, had of their own act laid down principles of conduct in public affairs which, by their very essence, limited its scope and shortened its duration. Instead of a freehold, they were substituting a lease for an unspecified period. In other words, they had created a position full of difficulty in reconciling what they had promised with what they had never intended, and this position is to-day more complicated and critical than ever before. If it is to be permanently ameliorated it demands

restraint and patience on the Indian side as much as discrimination and sagacity on that of the British. The future depends on qualities which do not seem to be generally exhibited in these tumultuous times.

The great oversight committed by those who supported the Anglicist movement in regard to language without any qualification whatever was in not perceiving that, while the supply of candidates would be immense and eventually incalculable, the openings in the service would be very limited, and that the majority of those sufficiently educated in the colleges and schools to pass any ordinary examination would, in consequence, never possess the opportunity of securing the reward they expected when they became "literate in English." This result might and should have been foreseen. The garden of the official Eden is opened to all comers, but when they reach the entrance the majority are turned back with the notice "No room left." The solution of that problem, which affects Hindus exclusively, may be left to those it immediately concerns. Our mission is, so far as it lies in each of us, to do all we can to avert a similar impasse for our brother Moslems in their relations with the public service and with one another.

The authorities, British as well as Indian—and I include among the latter those in the Indian States—have to recognise that a great educational movement has begun among Indian Moslems, and that it must develop with destructive force to all old-fashioned views. The world is changing, and Moslems will change with it. They have already started; they will soon be in the van. We do not want to see, as the result of our educational advance-

ment, the creation of a new body of discontented students hungry for places that have no realisable entity. We do not wish to prove the failure of the new movement by the emergence from the body of the hindmost placemen in the annual or semi-annual competitions of a large and ever-increasing faction of intriguing, dissatisfied, and dangerous zealots or charlatans, who pronounce, on the ground of their own disappointment and dissatisfaction, all things in the State to require change at their hands and designate the general condition of society to be rotten if not remedied by their own dangerous and illusive doctrines. In our educational plans let us strive to produce a sounder effect, and one calculated to endure for the benefit of our own community, thus providing at the same time a solid stone to the foundation of social order and stability.

These views make it necessary to consider calmly and without bias what is the best form of education that we should adopt. Is our instruction to be given, and are its fruits to be stored, through the medium of English, or shall we revert to our own classics in Arabic and Persian with a lingua franca in Hindustani? It is admitted that for those who seek a career in the British service English remains obligatory, but for those students who look to other careers and pursuits than the official life it is by no means indispensable as the one curriculum of knowledge. The study and mastery of English as a foreign language is a very different matter from making it the source of our general instruction and enlightenment. For one thing, it can be acquired deliberately in later years without excessive brain pressure in youth. But the main evil to be avoided

is that sense of disappointment generating vindictiveness which surges through the brains of Bengali and Madrassi agitators. "You led us on to learn English, and then for bread we only find a stone." In our educational efforts let it be our first maxim to create a healthy and contented body of literates such as is not to be found in any other Indian community.

The first step towards attaining that result is to revert to our own languages for the vehicle of instruction. We must bring up our youth in our Arabic and Persian classics, and also in translations into those tongues of the English classics, whether they relate to literature, science, or art. In this way the Oriental *milieu* will be preserved in our colleges and schools, and it is remarkable to find that the Nizam of Hyderabad came to this conclusion when he founded, some years ago, the Osmaniah University in his capital. The curriculum in that most interesting and original institution was to be on the basis of an Oriental and not a Western seminary, seeking its exemplar, not in Oxford and Cambridge, but in Cordova and Cairo. It is quite true by so doing it cuts itself off from the Civil Service of India as at present constituted. Its undergraduates must look elsewhere. Other openings exist if they are only approached. There are more useful and more promising pursuits than to fill a chair in a Government department and to await with more or less eager expectancy the advent of the attendant pension. It is those unfrequented avenues that the youth of Moslem India should set out to explore.

The analyser of the pass-out examinations of the

Indian universities cannot fail to be struck by the preponderance of graduates who qualify in arts and letters and in law. There is a small percentage in medicine, but the totals in engineering and commerce are almost nil. We live in an age of specialists, and concentration of study and investigation is essential to success. Those qualities are more likely to be developed and strengthened in the serene atmosphere of an Oriental house of learning than in those English institutions where the newspapers are read quite as assiduously as the textbooks, and where the polemics of the day are bandied from one to another by the aid of the misleading light of Karl Marx or Henry George. Of course, a certain number of Moslem students in vernacular colleges will be attracted to the public service, and the necessary facilities for the prosecution of their intention must be available in any educational institution worthy of the name ; but this does not mean that the teaching as a whole should be subordinate to the requirements of a few. In entering upon a contest for places under Government with the Hindus, the larger number of whom, even those qualified and not including the rank failures, must become disappointed suitors with no present provision and no future prospect, the Moslems would be inviting the same disillusion and disappointment that has befallen the others in Bengal and Madras. Moslem educationalists, in their zeal for reform and progress, must do something better than this for their compatriots. Education is nothing unless it has a goal, and the goal must be not only inviting, but attainable.

For these reasons it is desirable to give the edu-

cational movement among Indian Moslems a definite purpose, and to frame for their efforts a clear bent which will attain prizes and rewards of an encouraging nature. Neither for Islam nor for India is it at all desirable that there should be created a body of discontented "literates" without any avocation in life. We require education to be stimulated, but if it is not the right education it may become a curse. We do not wish to see groups of hungry boys gathering in the bazaars or airing their grievances by attacking the authorities, whoever they may be, in the local Press because no source of livelihood has been discovered. All the agitators and disappointed seem to think that someone else is to blame for their misfortunes, forgetting the old saw:

> "How few of all the ills that men endure
> Are those that Kings or Governments can cure."

If we had the control of a great educational institution like the Osmaniah University, intended to promote Moslem knowledge and enlightenment, we would give its programme a definite bent and purpose for the benefit, present and future, of its undergraduates. This would be accomplished by placing the subjects covered by the descriptions "law letters and arts" in the background and concentrating the main attention of its scholars on engineering, agriculture, commerce, and health, not excluding medicine and chemistry. For all these subjects the Mahomedans have displayed in the past special aptitudes, and with efficient training there is no reason why the present and future generations of my compatriots should not recover the superiority which made the Arabs famous as leaders of progress

and masters of thought. In those pursuits also they would find more profitable and more independent careers in life than any official employment with its limited numbers and restricted scope can offer. Their pursuit can be prosecuted without the intervention of an enforced and foreign language. Their prizes can be possessed and enjoyed without official patronage because they have to deal, not with one class, but with the whole community, to whom they have to justify their presence in the character of public benefactors.

In this respect the Indian Moslems have a living example before them. The Parsi community of Bombay and Gujerat have concentrated their efforts on commerce, with the result that they have attained almost a monopoly of commercial enterprise in Western India. If the Moslems are so willed and find capable leading and direction, there is no doubt that they, too, will establish pre-eminence in the several walks of life for which their characters, temperament, and traditions give them the best aptitude. It seems most probable that, after medicine and chemistry, engineering and agriculture are the two professions that would hold out the strongest invitations to the Indian Moslems. None others are more useful, none more needed, none less filled, and none holding out better prospects of reward.

One closing word about statistics. The returns of the Census are more or less adverse to the Moslems in respect of education, but it is to be noted that the literates are divided into two classes—one in their own languages and the other in English. What has to be emphasised is this : Enlightenment and knowledge are independent of language ; lan-

guage is not the tyrant but the slave of the mind. If the Moslems matriculate in Persian or Arabic, they are just as literate as if they did so in English. They swell the figures in one column of the Census returns if not in the other. Of course, they are not eligible for the Government service, but they have many other opportunities presented to them, and they can make their own choice and career. Moreover, if they are ineligible for the British service, they could find official employment, if they had a preference for it, in many of the Indian States where English is not obligatory, and even in many of the Hindu States Moslems have been long employed and preferred. But the best openings for my compatriots lie outside the bureaucratic life, in the free atmosphere of civil employment, where public utility and not patronage regulates the chances of success and honourable preferment. Far from the turmoil of political contentions, the Moslems should steer a course for their advancement in prosperity, comfort, and happiness based on good work to be accomplished for the health and weal of the whole of the community of which they form so important and so solid a part.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST REFORMS

THE time was bound to come when educated Indians, having qualified for and obtained their place in the civil administration of their country, would feel themselves entitled to a large share in the higher walks of official life above Legislative Councils. They wanted to take part in the executive side of government, and as this longing and ambition was the inevitable consequence of the declared policy and purpose of the British Government and Parliament in promoting them to a footing of equality they, at least, should not have felt any surprise when the educated classes showed that they had come to the conclusion that the time for the fruition of their hopes and desires had arrived. It was in the early eighties that the cry of India for the Indians was first heard, and those advanced thinkers, few in number, found an eloquent spokesman in Mr. Lalmohun Ghose, who impressed English audiences very favourably. But at that time these advocates were far ahead of their age, and without any considerable following. The movement then slumbered, if it did not die down. From every point of view it was premature. It found no serious backing among English politicians, although some of the last efforts of Mr. John Bright's oratory were devoted to the cause of India.

He had declared that "the voice of India was

making itself heard in England," and as the Conservative Government had just suffered defeat at the General Election of 1880 it was assumed that the in-coming Liberal Administration would take up the question of India's problems and desires. The appointment of the Marquis of Ripon as the new Viceroy was considered some sort of guarantee that there was, at least, good intention. His first act was to repeal the Vernacular Press Act introduced by his predecessor, Lord Lytton, but the Act had its useful side in the check it imposed on sedition and seditious persons, and it would have been far better to have simply modified some of its conditions, and to have made it applicable to the British as well as the Indian Press. In this way the invidiousness of the law, which was its chief objection, would have been removed, and Lord Morley would have been spared the obloquy of reimposing its stipulations and penalties in 1912.

Lord Ripon's next experiment in the way of propitiating Indians was of a curious character. No one could suggest any immediate way of directly benefiting them, but, by some perverted line of reasoning, it was concluded that the best thing that could be done was to humiliate the English residents. From the time of their first arrival in India they had possessed the right of trial among themselves by their own judges and juries. The Mogul emperors had seen no harm in recognising this inherent right by their firmans, and no Indian critic had ever found fault with it. Lord Ripon authorised the Legal Member of Council, Mr. Courtenay Ilbert, to bring in a "Criminal Jurisdiction Bill" cancelling this time-honoured privilege

and subjecting Europeans to trial by mixed juries and Indian magistrates. If its originators thought that the Bengalis would be greatly elated by this blow to the British privilege of being tried for criminal offences by their own tribunals they were disappointed, for the question, with its subsequent developments, received but scant notice in the vernacular Press, and caused no stir in the community. As a measure to propitiate Indian opinion the project proved a damp squib.

But its effect on the European community was very different, and it is one of the most curious incidents of official life that Lord Ripon and all his advisers seemed completely unaware that they were undertaking a risky measure that would end in their complete confusion. The storm raised by this unhappy step has, in its way, never been surpassed, and the indignation and alarm of the unofficial section of the European community was even greater than that of the official. Lord Ripon was attacked and openly insulted, his levees were boycotted, petitions with thousands of signatures were sent to England, and a Defence Committee under the most influential patronage was formed in London. As Lord Ripon did not immediately give way, the threat was made of a general strike by the whole of the Civil Service, which would bring the government of the country to a standstill and utterly discredit the persons responsible for the provocation. Even the mildest of the critics of the measure described it as a "disturbing Bill, possibly innocuous but perfectly unnecessary." If the agitation had been confined to India it might have been ignored by the Government, but it became so

general and loud spoken in England that it threatened its very existence. Lord Ripon was then permitted to find the best way out of his trouble. A new draft of the Bill was prepared removing its most objectionable features and limiting its scope.

Although Lord Ripon was unable to accomplish anything material in the direction of meeting the desires of the Indian community in Bengal he certainly did adopt a very conciliatory attitude towards them in social intercourse. Those entitled to the entry were always accorded an unusually cordial welcome at Government House, and Lord Ripon in this way deservedly gained the respect and gratitude of the best representatives of the Indian community, but the fiasco of the Ilbert Bill, for which he blamed his advisers in not keeping him properly informed, rankled in his mind and led him to solicit an early resignation of his office.

So far the manifestations of Hindu—I say advisedly Hindu, for the Moslems had displayed no inclination to resort to political agitation—aspirations, or desires, had taken a constitutional and pacific form. There was nothing visible in the situation to raise doubts, much less apprehension, about the future. It was certainly discouraging that the darker side of the picture should be revealed by a great public misfortune that ought to have rallied all parties, castes, and communities in a united effort to overcome a calamitous visitation due to the unfathomable decrees of an omnipotent Providence. In 1896 the malignant bubonic plague, the terrible scourge that had decimated Egypt in old days, fell upon the proud city of Bombay, and from that centre spread rapidly throughout the greater part

of Western India. The peril was formidable and unavoidable, and there were no ready means of staying it. A Plague Commission was appointed to discover the best remedies, and while its studies and essays progressed the ravages of the disease spread consternation, which led large masses of the city population to imagine that their only chance of safety lay in flight, and so the contagion was carried far and wide throughout the Bombay Presidency.

The Plague Commission did its best, and worked hard under very difficult conditions, for, instead of receiving the hearty co-operation of the suffering community, it encountered strenuous opposition based upon ignorance and caste prejudices. The attack on insanitary areas, the house to house inspection, above all, the isolation of suspected cases, could not be put into general practice for those reasons, and the Brahmans excited the susceptibilities of their followers on the old theories of seclusion and untouchability, with the result that the emissaries of the Commission instead of being welcomed as benefactors were received in many quarters with absolute hostility. Thus the evil had to be left to effect its own cure by a process of self-exhaustion.

The local Press of Poona, the stronghold of Brahmanical influence, took a prominent part in stirring up the opposition of ignorant persons to the activities of the Commission and its representatives. The Poona *Kesari,* edited by Mr. Gangadhar Tilak, was the most active and virulent in giving pernicious advice to the multitude, and some of the more ignorant and excitable of its readers soon worked themselves up to a pitch of frenzy. Quite

unaware of the new peril to which they were thus exposed the Commissioners continued their labours with unabated zeal in a house to house investigation. Two of them, Mr. J. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst, were assailed and murdered by some young Brahmans, one of whom named Damodar was caught, tried, and hanged. To say the least of this terrible outrage, it was a discouraging return for much devotion and self-sacrifice in performing a public duty under peculiarly dangerous circumstances. There was no difficulty in proving that Tilak's paper had systematically incited its readers to the commission of acts of violence, and in 1897 he was brought to trial for inciting to sedition and rebellion, and received a term of imprisonment. Enough was discovered to show that these were not isolated acts of a few individuals, but that there existed a conspiracy of wide and unknown ramifications. Confirmation of this suspicion was given some months later by the assassination of two brothers named Dravid, who had been the principal witnesses against Damodar. For this further crime Damodar's two brothers, and another man named Ranade, were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged.

For a brief space this vigorous assertion of authority, by the condign punishment of four of the most active conspirators and the silencing of their principal instigator, restored tranquillity, and when the agitations revived the scene shifted from Bombay to Bengal. The gradual disappearance of the plague tended to tranquillise the air, and energetic steps were taken to carry out extensive operations in Bombay to remove unhealthy centres by reclamation and to improve the general sanitary

condition of the city. This was rendered less difficult of accomplishment by the fact that the population of those particular localities had either died or departed in flight.

Nearly twenty years after Lord Ripon, Lord Curzon appeared upon the scene as controller for a term of India's destinities. He declared that his mission was "to hold the scales even," and at the same time he revealed in a memorable passage his sense of the difficulty of his task. He said truly: "A Viceroy of India is confronted with a mosaic of nationalities and interests—with his own countrymen, few in number and scattered far and wide under a trying climate in a foreign land, and with the manifold races and beliefs, so composite and so divergent, of the indigenous population in its swarming and ever-multiplying millions. To hold *the scales even under such conditions is a task that calls indeed for supple fingers and nerves of* steel."

Lord Curzon was quite conscious of the difficulty of his task. He cannot be accused of the intention wilfully to make it more difficult. It was his misfortune to provoke such a result by his ill-advised measure, considering the times, to divide the great province of Bengal, with its immense population, into two parts. He could not have been thinking of anything else than to ease the burden on the administration when he conceived the idea of founding Eastern Bengal. The charge that he had formed the Machiavellian design of breaking up the Bengali nation was too absurd to gain credence with any reflecting person.

In the time of Lord Ripon an annual meeting of

Hindu delegates had been started under the title of a National Congress, and, after some years, having acquired strength by non-interference, it began to take up a critical attitude towards the Executive and to pass resolutions as to what should be done in the opinion of these self-appointed judges. Although it possessed no charter, it began to arrogate to itself the position of an informal Parliament. If it did no good it did not seem to do much harm, and some shrewd critics declared that there was some advantage in allowing noisy declaimers to let off some of their bad steam. The National Congress continued to act as the censor of the British Government because it did not bring in the millennium, and no one was a bit the worse or the better for all the rhetorical vapours that filled the congress hall wherever the annual meeting was held. No doubt there will be some day or other a true Congress or Parliament in India, legally constituted and properly endowed, but it will only be after sure evidence has been afforded of the existence of a practical spirit, an equitable frame of mind, and a sense of general justice upon which a real patriotism might be built up. Lord Curzon avoided any direct clash with the National Congress. He ignored its existence, and paid no heed to its resolutions and personal diatribes. This attitude was attributed to his haughty disposition, whereas he had probably concluded in his own mind that it was the best attitude to observe towards a body which was completely unreasonable and not to be persuaded by the force of argument.

At this juncture the proposed "Partition of Bengal" provided the political agitators in and out of the Congress with what was deemed likely to

prove a good party cry. Lord Curzon was assailed on all sides as the wrecker of the Bengali nation and denounced as an enemy of the Indian people. None the less for this outcry and the attendant agitation, which was supported by English Liberals in London, the measure was carried into law and put in force. The new province, entitled "Eastern Bengal and Assam," came into existence to the great satisfaction of its Moslem and Buddhist inhabitants. The population of this vast province, extending from old Bengal to the Chinese frontier districts, exceeded 30,000,000. It was soon made clear that there was a strong local opinion in favour of the change. The Mahomedan communities of Dacca and Barisal asserted themselves, the traders of Chittagong became more enterprising, and the Buddhists, of whom there were large numbers in Assam, rejoiced at escaping from under the shackles of the Brahmans. The much-abused Partition proved a material success, but it was too useful as a stalking horse for Hindu unrest to be allowed to disappear from the political programme.

Lord Curzon's stay in India was abruptly ended by the unfortunate controversy in which he wilfully involved himself with the Secretary of State, but at least my compatriots should never forget that he was at heart in sympathy with them, and this found expression in the zest with which he laboured to preserve the great monuments of the Mogul dynasty. His words of advice to the Mahomedans of India are well worth treasuring up:

"Only by the assimilation of Western thought and culture can the Mahomedans of India hope to recover any portion of their former sway. Adhere

to your own religion, which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make it the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at university are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations. But consistently with these principles press forward till you pluck the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which once grew best in Eastern gardens, but has now shifted its habitat to the West.''

Lord Curzon was succeeded by the Earl of Minto, the second of his name to fill the highest office in India, who was then acting as Governor-General in Canada. Appointed by Mr. Balfour, he soon found himself, as the result of the General Election of 1906, which returned the Liberals to power, in official relations with men of the opposite party. The appointment of Mr. John Morley to the India Office was generally considered to herald a change of policy in regard to India, and some curiosity was displayed as to how a man of the world like Lord Minto would get on with a reactionary philosopher such as Mr. Morley was esteemed to be. It was precisely because Lord Minto was a man of the world and a master of the art of give and take that his relations with the new Secretary of State proved smooth and unruffled by the clash of opposite opinions.

Mr. Morley began his official career by disappointing Indian extremists, who had assumed that his first act would be to reverse the Partition policy and restore Bengal to its former limits. He did nothing of the kind, but let the arrangement stand. At that moment the agitation was at its height, and

the Swadeshi leaders had resorted to a boycott of the Europeans, and it had even been proposed to extend the boycott to the royal visitors, for the Prince and Princess of Wales (their present Gracious Majesties) happened to be paying a State visit to India at the moment. Lord Minto sent for Mr. Gokhale, the leader of the day, and sternly warned him of the serious consequences that would attend the perpetration of such an outrage. The royal visit was not marred by any unseemliness.

At this time Lord Minto took the first step towards the introduction of some practical reforms. He propounded four definite projects. They were to be (1) a Council of Princes, (2) the appointment of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council, (3) increased Indian representation on the Legislative Councils of the Viceroy and also of the local governments, and (4) prolongation of the Budget debate, with an increased power to move amendments. Lord Minto appointed a committee of four to consider his proposals, with the result that two were in their favour and two against them. Notwithstanding this dubious result, the Viceroy submitted them as his views to the Secretary of State, and the sequel will appear later. Before Mr. Morley had expressed an opinion or made any move towards radical reforms Lord Minto had drafted proposals that were certainly a beginning in the right direction. Mr. Morley was being twitted for his inaction by some of his more advanced associates, who declared that he had gone over to the Conservatives. Such is the bane of party politics that if a politician departs from the party slogan to obey the dictates of his conscience or to

follow the path of common sense, he is designated a renegade.

At this moment a serious turn was given to the whole question by a sequence of grave events. In the vernacular Press seditious articles appeared from day to day, declaring that, as the boycott produced no results, it was necessary to appeal to force, and the young students in particular were incited to proceed to acts of violence and crime. Unfortunately these were listened to, and a succession of outrages followed. Dacca, the new capital of East Bengal, was the scene of the opening incidents. Mahomedans as well as Europeans were assaulted by miscreants, who were always careful to be in superior numbers. Mahomedans were the more numerous victims of these gangs, and the Hindus gave practical proof of their true sentiments towards their Moslem brothers, as they are now called. In Calcutta labour riots incited by some sinister external influence were frequent, and somewhat similar disorders took place at Lahore. It happened that at this moment the National Congress was holding its annual session at Surat. The extremists brought in certain resolutions of open disloyalty to the Crown and defiance of the Government, which the moderates, then in the majority, and not afraid, as they subsequently became, to uphold their opinions, refused to accept, whereupon the disaffected broke up the meeting with such outrageous manifestations that the police had to be called in to suppress the disorders. One of the most notorious ringleaders, Lajput Rai, at Lahore brought himself within the reach of the law and was deported.

But worse was to follow in 1908. Violence became intensified. For speeches and pamphlets recourse was now had to bombs, the assassin's knife or revolver came into play. Two English ladies were murdered by a gang of miscreants who threw bombs; a witness for the Crown against these assassins was murdered in prison; several police inspectors were shot in the discharge of their duty; and an attempt to murder Sir Andrew Fraser within the precincts of Calcutta University only failed by the interposition of the Maharaja of Burdwan. There was a brief lull, and then in the new year the outrages were resumed with undiminished virulence. The Public Prosecutor of Bengal was shot at Alipur, an English civilian was murdered at Nassick, near Bombay, and then in London itself Sir Curzon Wyllie was murdered, together with a Parsi doctor, at a reception held at the Imperial Institute. Finally, an attempt was made to assassinate Lord and Lady Minto during their visit to Ahmedabad. Two bombs were thrown at their carriage as they drove through the streets. The carriage was struck, but providentially the bombs failed to explode. It was thought they were "duds." A bystander picked up one, and he was blown to pieces!

If the authors of these crimes imagined that they were going to force the Government to surrender to their menaces, they were soon undeceived. Mr. Morley was very much perturbed and distressed by these outrages, and he wrote to Lord Minto: "If these disorders continue, the hopes of the Reform party and their British sympathisers must be frustrated inevitably, as there would be an end of all

real reform." Mr. Morley did not confine himself to words. He recognised that the Government's hands must be strengthened, and he sanctioned measures that were opposed to all the academic theories with which he had taken up office. The vernacular Press had applauded the bombers and train wreckers, and continued to incite others to follow their example. Mr. Morley sanctioned the revival of Lord Lytton's Press Law, which Lord Ripon had too hastily repealed, and he agreed to the new law assigning more summary powers to the authorities, and imposing severer penalties on offenders. A new Ordinance for the Regulation of Meetings was brought in, prohibiting the holding of seditious meetings in the Punjab as well as Bengal, and the English "Explosives Act" was extended to India. The Government had been very slow in taking action, but at last its patience was exhausted, and it gave these proofs that it still existed.

In the Punjab, occupied by warlike races, the situation was graver than in Bengal, and attempts had been made to tamper with the troops, more especially among the reservists and pensioners who had been settled in the Chenab Canal colony. These had some cause for dissatisfaction because the Punjab Government had introduced some alterations in the nature of their holdings which appeared to them to be an infraction of the original tenure. A Bill of a repressive order dealing with this state of things was passed by the Punjab Legislative Council and was submitted to the Viceroy, and with it he received a statement of the colonists' grievance. The Bill was of a severe character, based on the view that any concession at that moment of turmoil would be

regarded as due to a sense of weakness on the part of the Government. Lord Minto examined the colonists' statement and found it to be justified, whereupon he vetoed the Bill against the views of his own Council, making use of the following remarkable words to justify his action : "I hate the argument that to refuse to sanction what we know to be wrong is a surrender to agitation and an indication of weakness. It is far weaker, to my mind, to persist in a wrong cause for fear of being thought weak."

This action was the more remarkable because the sensational trial of a group of anarchists in the Punjab, under the terms of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, on a charge of "making war upon the King," was in progress and had been carried on appeal to the Calcutta High Court. This high tribunal modified the charge to one of conspiracy, eighteen of the accused receiving either life sentences or long terms of imprisonment. This result of the great anarchist case went to strengthen the arm of authority and to repress the ardour of all the conspirators. At this juncture Mr. Morley took occasion to make a general statement not free from warnings which are of permanent application :

"In the policy I am endeavouring to follow in regard to India I must repudiate the charge that I am abandoning Liberal principles. The first and commanding task of Britain in India is to keep order, quell violence, and sternly insist on impartial justice. It has been said that what suited Canada would suit India. This was not merely untrue; it was the height of political folly. The Government of India would neither be hurried by impatient idealists nor

driven into needless coercion by repressionists. The situation is not dangerous, but it requires serious and earnest attention. We want to rally the moderates if we cannot satisfy the extremists; our line will remain the same. I shall not allow myself to be deterred from pursuing to the end a policy of firmness and slow reform."

The twin minds of Lord Minto and Mr. Morley thus spoke on the great subject of the hour in even terms. They would not abandon the contemplated reforms, but at the same time they would uphold the law and punish those who broke it.

During these troublous and exciting times in India the Moslems had given the Government no cause for anxiety. The anarchists and conspirators had found no recruits in their ranks, the Swadeshi movement had been directed against them as much as the Europeans, Mahomedans had been equally among the victims of outrage with the latter. But they could not be indifferent to the growing rumours that changes in the electoral system were in contemplation under the designation of reforms, and they could not but ask themselves the question how these would affect their standing in the country. The time had come for them to ascertain whether their position was appreciated, and whether their ancient and long-inherited rights would be respected and maintained. It was also clear to them that when English Liberals were talking of changes and reforms in India they were thinking primarily of Hindus, for their antipathy to Moslems and Turks had been marked and unreasoning since Mr. Gladstone's campaign on Bulgarian atrocities. The Liberals were in office, and no Moslem therefore felt con-

fident of a fair hearing. The times called for people to be up and doing unless they were to be trampled on. The Moslems of India—among whom that great patriot, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, took the lead—felt that the time had come for them to do something in the way of making their views known. They did not have recourse to agitation, much less to violence. They appointed a delegation, headed by H.H. the Aga Khan, to speak on their behalf to the Viceroy at Simla.

A memorial setting forth the views of the Moslem community had been carefully prepared by the Nawab above named in collaboration with the late Syed Hussein Bilgrami, and drafted in clear and moderate language. It began by referring to their well-proved loyalty to the British Government, and also to the fact that they were the immediate predecessors of the British in exercising a single and supreme sovereign rule in India. From their point of view, they asked for guarantees against any infraction of their rights, for which they claimed recognition and respect, and that under any system they were not to be relegated to a position of helpless minority by the assertion of the purely numerical superiority of the Hindu population. The address concluded with the expression of the view that the position of the Moslems should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they made to the defence of the Empire. It was claimed that Mahomedan representatives should be elected by exclusively Mahomedan electorates. The reference to their contribution towards the defence of the Empire was well pointed.

Moslem troops formed a larger proportion than any other element of the Indian Army. Their regiments had served in every quarter of the Empire long before the Great War. Bengalis had never been heard of in military circles; no Bengali regiment was in existence; their contribution to military defence was nothing at all. Lord Minto was a soldier before he was a statesman. These statements appealed to his heart.

Lord Minto made a very sympathetic and encouraging reply. He admitted that he had a leaning towards the Moslems, and he declared that Mr. Morley was similarly inclined. He gave expression to it in his reply to the memorialists:

"The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a municipality, a district board, or a legislative council, in which it is proposed to introduce or to increase the electoral organisation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a body. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as they are now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Mahomedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so, it would only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your position should be estimated, not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service that it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me: I make no attempt to indicate by what means the communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly

convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. In the meantime, I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests will be safeguarded in any administrative organisation with which I am concerned."

Mr. Morley did not know India, just as he showed in 1914 that he did not know his own countrymen. He persuaded himself, by a course of reasoning natural in a bookworm, that everything depended on the success of the reforms over which he was cogitating. In a personal letter to Lord Minto he wrote: "If the reforms do not save the Raj, nothing else will;" to which Lord Minto administered a fine corrective of his feebleness verging on despair: "The British Raj will not disappear in India as long as the British race remains what it is, because we shall fight for the Raj as hard as we have ever fought if it comes to fighting, and we shall win, as we have always done. My great object is that it shall not come to that." An Eastern mind, a great potentate cradled in the traditions of his family, had spoken similar words of warning and wisdom. The late Nizam, speaking to Sir David Barr, had used these words: "Blow hot or blow cold, as you please, but never forget your strength!" While discussing ideals and striving to attain perfection in human affairs, it is never prudent for any of us to forget the hard realities of life, whether they relate to an individual or a nation.

In taking up the task of giving the practical form to the proposed reforms which is embodied in a Bill to be presented to Parliament for sanction, Mr. Morley was careful to specify certain points which were not among his plans and intentions. He declared that India is not England, adding that "British institutions cannot be transplanted wholesale into that country. That is a fantastic and ludicrous dream. I have no thought of endowing her with a Parliament."

It does not appear that Morley had formed any definite plan for giving effect to his good intentions until he received Lord Minto's proposals, already quoted, in the summer of 1907. This was made perfectly plain in his statement on Indian affairs in the House of Commons:

"At the end of March last, the Viceroy informed the Legislative Council that he had sent home a despatch to the Secretary of State proposing suggestions for a move in advance. It emanated entirely from the Government of India. We have given approval to the establishment of a Council of Notables. The second proposal is the acceptance of the general principle of an enlargement of the Legislative Councils, both the Governor-General's and the Provincial Legislative Councils. Lastly, the Secretary of State is to have the privilege of nominating members of the Council of India among Indians. I think the time has come to nominate safely and justly one, and it may be, two, Indian members."

By the proposed scheme, more time and fuller opportunities of debate were to be given to the consideration of the Budget and also for examining the

expenditure of the different Departments, thus admitting that the co-operation of Indians of suitable position and adequate knowledge would be welcomed, and might prove most valuable in connection with financial questions. To one of the proposals Mr. Morley gave immediate effect by appointing the first Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council. He chose one as a representative of the Hindu community, and the other from the Moslem. The former was Mr. K. G. Gupta, of the Indian Civil Service, and the latter Syed Hussein Bilgrami, a very distinguished official and profound thinker attached to the Nizam's Government. By this step a new influence was introduced into what had come to be regarded as a very close body representing British officialdom exclusively. The Secretary of State, in particular, having no first-hand Indian knowledge, was thus enabled to tap his views at a fresh source.

Lord Morley, having been created a Peer, set forth his proposals for the Bill that was to embody them in the following Session. He divided them under seven heads. The first related to the Legislative Councils. The maximum and minimum numbers of Legislative Councils had been fixed by Statute. An increase in the numbers of these Councils of both the Viceroy and the provinces was to be authorised.

The second related to the membership. Members were nominated by the head of the Government, either the Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor. No election in any strict sense of the term took place. The nearest approach to such was a nomination by the Viceroy on the recommendation of the majority of voters of certain public bodies. It was not pro-

posed to abolish nomination altogether, but to ask Parliament in a very definite way to introduce election working alongside nomination, with a view to the aim admitted in all previous schemes, including the due representation of the different classes of the community.

The third applied to the discussion on the Budget. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 forbade either resolutions or divisions of the Council in financial discussions. This prohibition was to be repealed.

The fourth related to debates or discussions within the Council. It declared that "We propose to invest Legislative Councils with power to discuss matters of public and general importance, and to pass recommendations or resolutions on to the Government. The Government will deal with them as carefully or as carelessly as they think fit"—a curious way of expressing that the hands of the Government were not to be tied.

The fifth was to extend the power that at present exists to appoint a member of the Council to preside.

The sixth referred to Bombay and Madras. Each of these Presidencies had an Executive Council; by the new Bill they were to be doubled.

The seventh related to Executive Councils for Lieutenant-Governors. These were non-existent. Parliament was to be asked to sanction their creation. These Councils were to consist of not more than two members, and, at the same time, the power of the Lieutenant-Governor to overrule his Council was to be defined.

There was an additional head to the reforms, but it was not numbered eight, because the sanction of

Parliament was not required for its execution. This was the nomination of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council. This point was clearly put before the House of Lords by the Secretary of State. He said:

"This is the question of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The absence of an Indian member from the Viceroy's Executive Council can no longer be defended. There is no legal obstacle or statutory exclusion. The Secretary of State can to-morrow, if he likes—if there be a vacancy on the Viceroy's Council—recommend His Majesty to appoint an Indian member. All I want to say is that if, during my tenure of office, there should be a vacancy on the Viceroy's Executive Council, I should feel it my duty to tender to the King my advice that an Indian member should be appointed. If it were on my own authority only, I might hesitate to take that step, because I am not very fond of innovations in dark and obscure ground, but here I have the absolute and zealous approval and concurrence of Lord Minto himself. It was at Lord Minto's special instigation that I began to think seriously of this step. I quite admit that it is a very important step, but I think this concurrence points in the right direction."

It is now necessary to describe the measures taken to satisfy the demands of the Mahomedan community as presented in the address to Lord Minto at Simla. Lord Morley's first proposal was one for mixed or composite electoral colleges in which Mahomedans and Hindus should vote together. This plan had been rejected in anticipation by the delegation headed by the Aga Khan, and Lord Morley

revealed an imperfect acquaintance with the true Indian situation when he suggested that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together. The Government of India, knowing the country and its peoples, objected to this part of the scheme, and the plan was abandoned.

To leave the Secretary of State in no doubt as to what they needed and asked for, a body of Mahomedan leaders and men of influence waited upon him at the India Office. Their cardinal demands were three: A separate register; a number of seats superior to their numerical proportion; and that, if a Hindu were appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, a similar post should be conferred upon a Moslem. On the first two points Lord Morley declared that these demands should be met in full. With regard to the third point, which lay outside the scope of the Bill, he did not see his way to give satisfaction. This demand was susceptible of the interpretation that the Mahomedans wished to impose on the Government the condition that, if any Indian appointment were made to the Executive Council, that there should be two such appointments. This was obviously beyond their legitimate province, but it was equally clear that the solution of the point lay in alternating nominations, which was eventually put in practice. Thus, when Mr. Sinha, the first occupant of the post, retired, his successor was Mr. Syed Ali Imam.

Some doubts arose in India among the Mahomedans as to whether the definition of the electoral colleges was as clear and explicit as was desirable, and some of Lord Morley's supporters in the House of Commons revealed a misunderstanding of how they were to be formed. The cloven foot of the

mixed electorates seemed to emerge from a cloud of verbiage, and the Viceroy had to telegraph his views expressing the hope that the pledges to the Mahomedans would be fulfilled to their complete satisfaction. This induced Lord Lansdowne to intervene in the debate with the weighty comment that "he trusted that the confidence the Mahomedans had in the Government of India in respect of the arrangements to be made for their representation would not be misplaced. The pledges given to Mahomedans had been of the fullest and most emphatic character, and it would be a public disaster if anything worked out which would leave it open to Mahomedans to contend that the pledges of the Government had not been fulfilled to the utmost."

There was one point about the Minto-Morley reforms upon which sufficient stress has never been laid. They were accompanied by no pledges or promises of their augmentation. Without laying down their finality as an irrevocable word, they were assumed to close the question for a long period. Lord Morley regarded the measure he introduced into law as an experiment; he could not have done otherwise, seeing that its introduction was accompanied by scenes of lawlessness and outrages that could not but make the heart of any reformer fail. No reforms can be pronounced successful unless the recipients respond and help towards the success of the new system. To insure progress and permanence there must be hearty reciprocity. Were the Indian public going to reveal those symptoms of appreciation, that genuine co-operation, upon which depended the success of the new form of government?

The answer to that question could only be furnished by experience spread over a considerable term of years.

Lord Morley, who suffered from moods of despondency, was often pessimistic, and in the main he seemed to place his hopes of a better issue in the responsiveness of "the moderates" representing what he called "the better sense of India." He said:

"I will not be in a hurry to believe that there is not a great body in India of reasonable people, not only among the quiet, humble, law-abiding people, but among the educated classes. I will not believe that there is not a great body of reasonable people of that kind. I do not care what they call themselves or what organisation they may form themselves into. But I will not be in a hurry to believe that there are none such people, and that we cannot depend on them. When we believe that we have no body of organised reasonable people on our side in India, when you, gentlemen, who know the country say that—and, mind you, you must have that body of opinion among the educated classes as well as among the great masses, because it is the educated classes in all countries and in all times who make all the difference—I say that on the day that we believe that we shall be confronted with as awkward, as embarrassing, and as hazardous a situation as has ever confronted the rulers of the most complex and gigantic State in human history. I am confident that if the crisis comes it will find us ready, but let us keep our minds clear now. There have been many dark and ugly moments in our relations with India before now. We have such a dark and ugly

moment before us, and we shall get through it, but only with self-command, and without any quackery or cant, whether it be the quackery and cant of order or of sentiment."

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT WAR

LORD MINTO was succeeded by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, and Lord Morley by the Marquis of Crewe. A great event was announced by the declaration that King George and Queen Mary intended to visit India in 1911 for the purpose of holding a Coronation Durbar at Delhi, which was at the same time to be proclaimed the new imperial capital of India. It had often filled that place before, more especially as the Moslem capital, and from its position and traditions was more suited to serve as the seat of government for a great empire than Calcutta, which was essentially a centre of commerce, although it had received and deserved the proud title of "The City of Palaces." To mark the distinction between the old Mogul city and the new one that was to stand as the emblem, not only of British authority and power, but also of British justice, a modern city of imposing dimensions and impressive character was ordered to be laid out on the historic Ridge, and one of the functions to be performed by their Majesties was to lay its two foundation stones, all of which was carried out as ordained.

The proclamation of the new capital was not the only dramatic announcement in the speech of the King-Emperor. Coupled with it was the cancelling of the Partition of Bengal. It might have been thought beforehand that the cancelling of the

separation of the two Bengals and their reversion to a single unit would have produced a lively sensation, seeing what an outcry had arisen on the subject six years before. The great Bengali nation, which Lord Curzon was accused of intriguing to "bleed white," received the news of its reunion with stolid indifference and complete want of interest. Lord Morley had been charged with a breach of his promises—not any made by himself, but imputed to him by extremists in London as well as India—when he neglected to make that step the prelude to his reform measures. But seemingly he showed better judgment than his friends in concluding that the agitation about the Partition of Bengal was chiefly factitious.

The objections to the original Bengal existing prior to 1905 on the ground of excessive bulk as an administrative unit retained their force, and it would have been a great oversight to have ignored those weighty considerations. In the new transfer they were allowed their due weight. Bengal recovered the fifteen districts detached in Lord Curzon's measure, but Assam was reconstituted as a separate and distinct Chief Commissionership. But even with this severance Bengal as an administrative unit was too bulky. The western divisions of Bihar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur were withdrawn so as to form a separate Lieutenant-Governorship. While Bengal recovered much on its eastern side, it lost a corresponding portion on the west, but as a final solatium Bengal was raised to the rank of a Governorship, the first holder of the higher post being Lord Carmichael.

Notwithstanding the sullen aloofness of the worst

reactionaries, the royal visit was a great success and left a deeply favourable impression on all open and receptive minds. A step forward had been taken in drawing Britain and India together, and proof was afforded of this approximation two years later on the outbreak of the Great War. What the King himself thought on the subject was expressed in his letter to Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of the day:

"From all sources, private and public, I gather that my highest hopes have been realised. All classes, races, and creeds have united in receiving us with unmistakable signs of enthusiasm and affection. The magnificent display at the Durbar was the outcome of wise and well-considered plans, brilliantly carried out through the untiring efforts of the Viceroy and those who worked under him. Our satisfaction will be still greater if time proves that our visit has conduced to the lasting good of India and of the Empire at large."

A year after the Coronation Durbar Delhi witnessed a terrible, and very nearly a tragical, episode. The Viceroy, in his official duty and not less from a natural personal interest, took a parental part in the building up of the new city of Delhi, and he paid visits periodically to see how the Government buildings, including the Viceregal residence, were proceeding towards completion. On December 23, 1912, he paid one of these visits in semi-state, passing on his way through the old city. He was accompanied by many of the leading chiefs of the Punjab, and all were mounted on elephants, richly caparisoned. The Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Hardinge in the howdah, was seated on an elephant

of exceptional size towering above the others. When the procession reached the Chandni Chowk (the Silver Square), the principal square in Delhi, a bomb was thrown from one of the houses overlooking it. It struck the hinder part of the howdah, killing an attendant and severely wounding the Viceroy, who was struck by the fragments in several places in the back. Lady Hardinge, although sitting at his side, providentially escaped all injury, and the Viceroy had sufficient strength before he fainted from loss of blood to exclaim: "Go forward!"

The house from which the bomb was thrown was quickly identified and thoroughly searched from top to bottom, but as it was crowded with sightseers it is not surprising that the miscreant or miscreants succeeded in making his or their escape, and no clue to their identity was ever discovered in spite of the large rewards offered for any information. The balance of probability pointed to there having been only one criminal involved in the commission of the outrage, but it could hardly be doubted that he was the agent or tool of designing and desperate conspirators. The effect produced by this outrage was contrary to their anticipations, for sympathy with the wounded Viceroy and disapprobation of the crime were widely expressed, and on this occasion, if the culprit had only been discovered, he would have found no lenience in the judgment of his countrymen.

Lord Hardinge's recovery proved slow, and he did not improve his chances by insisting on attending in person the opening meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council in January, 1913. On this

occasion, referring to the attempt upon his life, he made the following magnanimous declaration:

"I assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue without faltering the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and will not waver a hair's breadth from that course. My motto is still 'Go forward!'"

During these two years the question of the status of Indian immigrants in British self-governing colonies attracted much attention and added to the number of thorny matters with which the Indian Government had to deal. In several respects this was the most difficult of them all, for the final decision rested with the colonial Governments, which would not brook interference in regard to questions of their own domain. There was no uniform policy in force. The colonies differed in their views, but, whatever they were under the old system, they would certainly not be modified under the new, which raised them to the status of self-governing States. In South Africa Indians were admitted subject to a labour indenture, but Canada and Australia refused their admission on any ground. A larger and rapidly increasing migration to Natal set in, with a consequent development of the difficulties springing out of an inferior position, while the colonial authorities, oppressed with the problem of their own negro population, were indisposed to add another racial conflict to their anxieties. Whatever concessions were made to Indians in South Africa were due, not to colonial consideration, but to the strenuous and sustained intervention and special pleading of the Imperial Government.

But in Canada and Australia no such course is open. The line taken by those States is rigid and can only be modified in some future phase by direct and improved relations between them and India. An ill-advised attempt was made in 1913 to force a solution in the case of Canada, when a party of would-be emigrants numbering 300 persons, mostly Sikhs from the Punjab, were sent by an organisation in Calcutta as a tentative step in a ship bound for Vancouver, with the object of forcing their way into Canada by its great western port. It was said at the time that German intriguers originated this design, and certainly they were exceedingly active in pre-war days in preparing trouble of all kinds and everywhere for the unsuspecting British. But in this case they counted without their host, for the Canadian regulations were very clear and concise, and the door was firmly closed and vigilantly guarded. On reaching Vancouver the party were not permitted to land, and had to return forthwith to whence they came. Naturally, after two long sea voyages the men were not in the best of spirits or tempers on landing at Budge Budge, and it is possible that the arrangements made for their reception and distribution were inadequate. This supposition is supported by the fact that the first trainload started on their journey back to the Punjab quickly and without occasioning any trouble. This was not the case with those left behind, for they got out of hand, assailing the police, who, after much provocation, had to fire in self-defence. The riot was not suppressed without considerable bloodshed, but those who had organised this unfortunate business went scot-free.

There does not appear to have been any connection between this affair and the Punjab conspiracy case which came to light soon afterwards, but both incidents afforded reason to believe that the more dangerous seditioners had transferred the scene of their activities from Calcutta to the Punjab. The United States, which was not less rigorous in excluding Indian immigrants than the British colonies, allowed students to have residence on the ground of educational advantages. No close inquiry was made as to their political activities, and thus enemies of British rule found secure harbourage under the Stars and Stripes. Among the most prominent and active of these was a man named Har Dayal, who, after proscription, had escaped from India. In his refuge he devoted himself to active anti-British propaganda, and his speciality was in training enthusiastic youths to carry out the programme of violence which he would not undertake himself. They were in every sense his dupes, but they provided him with a vent for his malignity. Neither he nor they had made any attempt to estimate what their puny efforts, even if they attained their immediate ends, could accomplish against a powerful Government confident in its own strength and controlling unlimited resources. But he at least was safe; it was his tools who paid the penalty.

Having formed a band of some thirty youths, whose parents had sent them to imbibe knowledge, not treason, at American universities, into a secret society, pledged to obey and execute his orders and to stand faithfully by one another, he persuaded them that the way to overthrow British rule was by resorting to murder. He not only supplied them

with ideas, but he trained them in the manufacture and manipulation of bombs, and when he was satisfied with their apprenticeship he packed them off to India to accomplish his fell design, while he watched from a safe distance the firing of the train.

Although these misguided young men made their way separately back to India, they all eventually foregathered at Lahore, where they rented a house. So large a party of young men, domiciled together, newcomers, and of several races, could not fail to attract the attention of the police authorities, and they were kept under observation. When sufficient evidence had been obtained to strengthen these suspicions, the house was raided and the whole band secured. On the house being searched, it was discovered to be a veritable arsenal with a large quantity of prepared bombs, lethal weapons of many kinds, but principally revolvers. Much treasonable correspondence was discovered, and it was made abundantly clear that a dangerous conspiracy had been scotched at the right moment. After a full trial the conspirators suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Their fate prevented Har Dayal from obtaining any more disciples, and he was too cautious to risk the adventure himself.

Apart from this baffled drama, which was of external origin, the remainder of Lord Hardinge's period was undisturbed by any grave internal trouble, and the frenzy of political agitation seemed to have abated. There is hardly any doubt that this amelioration in the times was to be attributed to the reaction produced by the attempt to assassinate the Viceroy at Delhi, which had produced the very opposite effect to that contemplated by its authors,

for it had created wide and genuine sympathy with the intended victim. It was then revealed what a hold Lord Hardinge had established on the good-will and affection of the community at large, for on all sides he was hailed as "our Viceroy"; such is the influence of spontaneous sympathy over the Oriental mind!

To understand this change, which even Lord Minto with all his ability and honest statesmanship had not been able to bring about, it is necessary to summarise the definite achievements with which Lord Hardinge's name must ever be associated. During the period covered by his tenure of the Viceroyship, Bengal became a Presidency with a Governor in Council, Bihar and Orissa, including Chota Nagpur, a Province with a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and with a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council. The Central Provinces and Assam were endowed with Legislative Councils, on which non-official members were to be in a majority. The United Provinces were to be provided with an Executive Council to help the Lieutenant-Governor of that great division. On the judicial side, Bihar and Orissa obtained a High Court functioning at Patna, and a similar High Court was sanctioned for the Punjab. Lord Hardinge was a strong advocate of decentralisation, and of investing local administrations with increased powers of initiative, thus avoiding tedious references to headquarters with the inevitable attendant loss of time and, perhaps, also of opportunity. The following extract from one of his despatches home deals with this subject:

"A further change that I regard as very desir-

able is greater decentralisation and less interference from the very top to the lowest rung of the administrative ladder, and the recognition that to endeavour to attain a deep uniformity in this country, where such wide variations exist in habits and thought, can only lead to local discontent and ultimate failure. While the Imperial Government retains, and must retain, the power of initiative in policy and control it should steadily, and on broad lines, delegate more and more power to local Governments to dispose of matters of merely local or secondary importance. In pursuance of this view it has been my policy to give as much freedom as possible to local Governments, and never to override them except under the most urgent necessity, bearing always in mind that it should be the part of the Government of India to control, and theirs to administer."

Among the boons announced by the King-Emperor at the Coronation Durbar was a special grant of fifty lakhs to promote what was termed popular education. The carrying out of this trust devolved upon Lord Hardinge, and it may be said to have formed the starting-point of a vastly extended system of primary education. It was to this subject that he may be said to have given his main attention while peace prevailed. He impressed upon both our communities the need of education and of commencing its inculcation at an early age, when the human mind is in a plastic state. Through his instigation the sum spent on education was doubled, and this allowed of the addition of a large number of schools, with the result that the attendance was more than doubled before he reached the end of his term. But if he gave his more immediate attention

to primary education it must not be supposed that he neglected higher. He strongly represented the need of a greater number of Universities, and it was under his auspices that those of Dacca, Benares, and Patna were founded by the philanthropic munificence of rich donors supplemented by Government grants. More would have been accomplished in this direction, but for the grave international crisis that then overshadowed every other consideration.

Before we take up that subject reference must be made to a sad occurrence that clouded Lord Hardinge's life. In the early summer of the year 1914, Lady Hardinge's health, which had never been robust, became a matter of anxiety to her husband and friends, and it was deemed necessary for her to return to England for a time. It was hoped that no serious consequences would follow and that she would be able to rejoin her husband during the following cold season. But in this instance Providence was in an unkind mood, and the illness had a fatal termination, leaving her stricken husband to bear the burden of his office alone. There was sympathy for the bereaved Viceroy, but throughout India there was also sorrow and a sense of loss for the departure of a sincere friend, whose last act before leaving for her home had been the founding of the medical college that bears her name in the new Delhi. Her whole-hearted and kindly sympathy with Indians, and especially with the women of the country, had endeared her for all time to the people, and it was well known how much she had helped her husband to improve the general conditions of life throughout the peninsula, and to conciliate the relations between the European and Indian societies.

The sway of private grief was dispelled by a thunder-clap that shook the universe and arrayed the nations in two great opposing camps between Right and Wrong, Justice and Fraud, the plighted Word and the Scrap of Paper. The Government of India was no more prepared than the British to meet the crisis that arose in the summer of 1914 in Europe, nor did there seem any immediate reason for believing that India would be at once involved in a struggle so remote from her sphere. That she could be kept long out of the fray would not have been the opinion of anyone with knowledge of the immense forces of all kinds that Germany had accumulated for the consummation of her ambition. But that her entire co-operation would be immediately sought for and solicited to help in stemming the Teutonic tide that had swept over Belgium into France certainly had not been foreseen or prepared for. On former occasions Indian troops had taken part in several campaigns in Egypt and China. On a memorable occasion, Lord Beaconsfield had brought them to Malta when it looked as if Constantinople would have to be defended against Russia. But the Alliance against Germany was a purely European affair, and in its opening incidents it did not appear as if the tranquillity of Asia must be involved.

But these considerations and assumptions were rendered nugatory by the rapid success of the Germans in the opening weeks of the war, and by the evidence plainly visible that their rush on Paris had only been held up at the price of the temporary exhaustion of the French and British armies which had kept them in check. The imperative need of

the hour was for trained troops, and as those available at home had been exhausted in the first month of the struggle there was no other source of supply available except India until Lord Kitchener's programme should begin to bear fruit. These were the imperative reasons that dictated the appeal to India towards the end of August, 1914. Thanks to Lord Kitchener's wise precautions, while acting as Commander-in-Chief in India, two fully equipped divisions were held in permanent readiness to take the field. It is more than probable that when those arrangements were made there was no thought of Europe providing the scene of their activities. Indeed, the choice of their bases and headquarters sufficed to show that the defence of the North-West Frontier was their sole object and primary duty. But they were ready and fully equipped for war under the old conditions. It was only necessary to provide the ships to carry them to the point of danger. The discipline of the Anglo-Indian army was perfect, British and Indian regiments vied with each other in their haste to reach the scene where they were anxiously expected. Thanks largely to Lord Hardinge's energy and example the first division landed at Marseilles on September 24, and the second was only a week later. These were hurried on as soon as possible to the Somme to strengthen Sir John French's depleted army. A month later a third division followed, and thus in the first phase of the war, long before Kitchener's first 100,000 became available, the Anglo-Indian army had provided nearly 60,000 men to the advanced line of defence in Picardy. As General Sir James Willcocks, in command of the Indian

Corps, remarks in his interesting narrative: "It was their good fortune to arrive just at the moment when they were most needed; just when our troops were using their very last reserves and fighting against terrible odds, in fact, just when two extra divisions could still help to stem the tide, and even if they had never done another day's fighting their advent would more than have justified their having been sent, for they helped in some degree to save the army in the hour of its great peril."

In the autumn of 1915, when the approach of winter was heralded, it was decided that it would not be fair to subject men from India to a second endurance of trench warfare under strange and rigorous climatic conditions. By that time, too, the new Kitchener armies were appearing at the front, and it was rightly felt that there were other scenes of warfare more congenial to the training and experience of Indian troops, for by this time the struggle in France had developed into a world war. In the Near and Middle East, and also in East Africa, the German Allies, or the Germans themselves, were striving to shake the position and to undermine the power of the British Empire. Here were scenes more suitable for Indian troops to gather the laurels of glory than amid the fogs and mists of humid Flanders [illegible].

But the primary cause of this change was the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany. That tragedy from our point of view was due to the bad policy of the British Government, which had forsaken the advice and example of wise Lord Beaconsfield to follow the exhortations of excitable platform orators, in whose mentality

wisdom had no place. It is true that after the war began the British Government in the name of its allies had promised the Porte that if it preserved neutrality its rights would be respected during the contest and its integrity guaranteed after its conclusion. But these assurances came too late. They could not obliterate what had been said and written; they could not thwart the well-laid plans and clever approaches which the Germans had been laying at Constantinople during a long series of years. In October, 1914, after the German cruiser *Goeben* had been given shelter in the Sea of Marmora, Turkey took her place on the side of Germany, and war was formally declared.

This step on the part of the great sovereign State of Islam could not but make a deep impression on the minds of my co-religionists in India, but the impression was one of sadness, not of disloyalty. It was felt to be a great pity that want of foresight and neglect of the feelings of an old ally should have alienated two Governments and peoples that had so much in common. But we Mahomedans of India felt sure that it was only to be a dark interval, and that after a brief period of storm the sun would shine again and [illegible]ld friendship be restored. For the immediate [illegible] call was to Duty, and it cannot be disput[illegible] guiding influence of H.E.H. the [illegible]n Mahomedans never flinched nor faltered in its cause. The point of most pressing danger was the Suez Canal, the artery of imperial communications between England and India. It was quite certain that the German strategists who took over the direction of the War Department in Constantinople would give their first

attention to that matter, and consequently the base of the main Indian expeditionary force was transferred to Egypt.

The other point obviously menaced was the head of the Persian Gulf, and more especially the delta of the united Tigris and Euphrates, under the name of the Shat-el-Arab. The defence of British interests in this quarter was obviously a direct concern of the Indian Government, which had treaty relations with several of the ruling sheiks in this region. It was certainly a point that could not be left open for an enterprising foe to convert into a base for ulterior designs on the Indian frontier.

An expeditionary force was accordingly despatched to this scene of operations. The Turkish garrison was defeated, Basra was taken, and the whole of the Delta occupied. It would have been well for everybody concerned if the matter had been left there. About the same time the complete security of the Suez Canal was established, and it was said by some well-informed persons that the Turks were already tired of the business and if they were only left alone would figure as spectators more than combatants. The unfortunate adventure on Gallipoli, and the still more u[illegible]ate advance to Kut, dispelled this [illegible] [illegible]ged the Ottomans irrevocably [illegible] war lasted, on the side of the T[illegible]

There was a nearer dan[illegible]ot than Mesopotamia for India in th[illegible]west Frontier, along which turbulent and w[illegible]-armed tribes were known to be always cas[illegible] covetous eyes in the direction of her rich cities [illegible]tile plains. The knowledge could not be kept f[illegible] that a very large portion

of the British garrison and the Indian Army had left the country for very distant scenes. When the news came, and it was spread by German agents who suddenly made their appearance at Cabul, that the Sultan had joined the Germans, a further incentive to these born warriors to seize the opportunity to resume their raids on India was provided. The two years leading up to the outbreak of the war had witnessed a long sequence of border troubles, of a minor character it is true, but none the less disturbing. The failure of the tribal levies plan was admitted. There was consequently much reason for the Indian Government to be anxious as to the situation on the borders of the Punjab. A trifling incident might set the whole of that region in a blaze.

This anxiety was, no doubt, much increased by the prevailing uncertainty as to the views and intentions of the Amir of Afghanistan, Habibullah, the son of the great Abdurrahman Khan, and the father of his present Majesty, Amanullah. He had paid a memorable visit to India, and he had departed with loud expressions of his friendship. But many years intervened, and no one knew whether he was still of the same min[illegible]he best, his own position was not an easy [illegible]ndered more difficult by the presen[illegible]Turk officers in his capital. Even i[illegible] steadfast, it was by no means cert[illegible]t he might not be swept away by a sudden ebulli[illegible]al rancour. He showed unexpected wisdom [illegible]aint under difficult circumstances. The German [illegible] represented that he expected to hear ev[illegible] of the capture of Paris; the Turks were [illegible] confident that the

Lord Hardinge the scapegoat; it makes my blood boil to think that he should be sacrificed while we go free." No language could show more clearly that the Cabinet alone was to blame.

In the history of empires exercising world rule, and necessarily composed of many alien races with no imperative link of union such as patriotism affords, there has never been a more striking instance of loyalty to a sovereign and devotion to duty than was given by the participation of India in the Great War. There was no distinction in this respect between the different races, with the exception always of the Bengālis, who may be born conspirators, but who are not born soldiers. They all vied with each other in eagerness for the fray and, what is most remarkable, their fortitude and courage had shown no diminution at the end of the four years' struggle. India might have said—and if she had no one would have had any cause to express surprise—there is no call for us to send our fighting men to Europe; it will be enough for us to maintain order within our borders and to look to the defence of our frontiers. But she responded to the call of the Empire in danger just as if s[illegible]formed part of the European Continent and [illegible]ched by nature to the shores of E[illegible]ttached by a stronger link—[illegible] duty and a common hu[illegible]England, felt that the cause [illegible] future comity of nations, if [illegible] was at stake when the [illegible]eir own solem[illegible]lly over, the [illegible]e greater par[illegible]

sponse to that appeal to the heart—and not only the heart, but the mind also—demonstrated for all time that India was not less sensible of the call of right and justice than her European sisters. Thenceforth, in the estimation of the world, India was to hold a new status and a higher place among the nations, and the end of this change cannot yet be foreseen.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOREIGN PERIL

BEFORE considering the terms and significance of the Government of India Act of 1919, which marks the second stage in the policy of progressive reforms, it is necessary to describe briefly the closing scenes of the war with which Lord Chelmsford, who reached India in March, 1916, had to deal. From every point of view, the Kut disaster had to be repaired.

Moreover, the war in the West had reached its most critical stage. Attrition had begun to manifest itself on all sides ; the victory would lie with the side that had the most resources and displayed the best staying power. But until a definite result was attained, and the nightmare of the casualties removed, there was no leisure for consideration of political problems in or out o[illegible]

By this time, the parti[illegible] dia in the war had been limited t[illegible] East Africa. Of the two, th[illegible] s the more important. I[illegible] om the disaster to Ge[illegible] collect a much larger a[illegible] edi-tionary force i[illegible] he only way [illegible] h arms by [illegible] e Bagdad. [illegible]

this view, and contingents, not only from their Imperial Service Corps, but from their own forces, formed a very considerable portion of the new army collected at Basra for the second advance up the Tigris. During the first two years of the war recruiting for the Indian Army had been very brisk. As many as 276,000 recruits had joined the colours, and of those not fewer than 135,000 had come from the Punjab alone. The larger half of the gross total were all Moslems—Patans, Deccanis, Rohillas, and Hindustanis. A really strong army having been assembled in the Delta, with proper equipment in munitions and medical stores, and the chain of communications strengthened by a full squadron of river steamers and launches, the command was given to Sir S. Maude, who had the confidence of his soldiers. His success proved rapid. Kut was reoccupied after the Turk Army in this neighbourhood had been defeated, and Bagdad, the lure of the enterprise, was captured without much resistance. In the moment of triumph, General Maude died suddenly either from poison or the climate. The Upper Tigris expedition had been brought to a satisfactory termin[illegible] The scene then shifted to Palestine, wh[illegible] [illegible]wer of the Turks, as German alli[illegible] [illegible]as finally broken.

By this [illegible] [illegible]on in India had been [illegible] the arrival of Terri[illegible] [illegible]and, to provide ag[illegible] [illegible]opean residents h[illegible] [illegible]ice. Although a[illegible] had been [illegible] [illegible]ering with [illegible] incident

perturbed the borders of the Punjab; but, as a matter of fact, they had kept quiet too long. The penury of troops, so visible in 1914-15, had been replaced. Aeroplanes furnished a further guard, and the tribesmen were temporarily cowed by the new combative force. On all sides the external dangers to India were waning.

But evidence was forthcoming that the internal condition of India was not ameliorating with an equal stride with the closing phases of the war. Lord Chelmsford had not been many months in India when a memorandum, signed by nineteen out of the twenty-seven elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, was presented to him for consideration. They themselves termed their views as moderate, but they could only have meant this in an ironical sense, for, if their proposals had any practical meaning, they aimed at turning out the Government and putting themselves in its place! This move, inviting the British Government to commit the happy despatch, was the first of its kind during the long controversy; but as a practical proposal towards solving a great political difficulty, which can only be attained [illegible] approximation and not the perman[illegible] both parties it will not be consid[illegible] sound sense or good feelin[illegible]dinate the executive pow[illegible]t that there was, and [illegible] exist-ing in the B[illegible]tive in India has [illegible]

There [illegible] memoran[illegible] of Brahm[illegible]

five were Moslems and two Parsis, but they were not free agents. It provided an object-lesson in the peril of leaving detached minorities under the sway or manipulation of the majority. Those who did not believe in the genuineness of the memorandum, or in the wisdom of its proposals, had the boldness to declare publicly their opinion that "the authority of the British rulers in the existing circumstances of India is alone able to hold the scales evenly between creeds and classes." A counterblast was also provided to visionary requests by the publication of Mr. Gokhale's last political message drafted shortly before his death, in which that undoubtedly able man laid down a few reforms of practical value and not unattainable. He claimed (1) a wide measure of provincial autonomy which was synonymous with Lord Hardinge's plea for decentralisation, and (2) the extension of the elective principle in regard to all Councils or Boards. Here, again, the Indian reformer only repeated Lord Hardinge. There was a third suggestion in reducing the controlling power of the India Office That control has always been made a grievance by discontented applicants, but it never possesse[illegible]xaggerated dimensions with which it was [illegible] natural course of things, it [illegible]d. Moreover, the Indian [illegible] with a certain amou[illegible]te department of th[illegible]rcises some of its [illegible]rcumstance c[illegible] will was its b[illegible]and inter-[illegible]t in itself [illegible]h the five

subservient Moslem members who had signed th memorandum of the Legislative Council.

Just as the flames of war were subsiding there wa a revival of political unrest in India. It became clea that this was excited by foreign intriguers, enrage at the triumph of the Allies and especially inimica to Britain, at whose door Germans laid the principa blame for the overthrow of their nefarious plans t attain world dominion. But Germany could nc openly show her hand. She found willing and zealou tools for her rancour and spite in the Russian Soviet set up by her hirelings, who have ever since pursue a constant course of aggression in the direction o India. Having acquired a base on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, they undoubtedly got int touch with some of the more dangerous Indian re volutionaries who had found shelter in that country and began to flood India with poisonous literature Lord Chelmsford was compelled by the facts tc declare that "the chief danger from Russia is not a Bolshevist invasion, but that they might seek tc penetrate by propaganda where they have no power of penetrating by force of arms." Those words were spoken seven years ago, a[illegible] has happened in Asiatic Russia si[illegible] [illegible]m increased force. It cannot be[illegible] [illegible]nsive power of the Soviet [illegible] India has greatly increa[illegible] [illegible]wer in the air especia[illegible]

The exte[illegible] of at least as [illegible] [illegible]s. The super[illegible] extremists [illegible] Soviet w[illegible]

place future grief and despair would bring no remedy. Directly connected with the external danger is the part that Afghanistan will play and the side she will take in any Anglo-Russian contest. The relations of the Government of India with that country and its rulers have passed through several critical moments in the last nine years. The Amir Habibullah had, as already stated, played his part well during the war, and there was every reason to believe that he would continue firm in his attachment to the British alliance. Confidence in the stability of the alliance received a great shock when the unexpected news arrived in February, 1919, that he had been assassinated in his camp. The crime was evidently a family affair, but the real instigators have never been named. After some mysterious proceedings, Inayatullah, the elder son, abdicated, and his brother Amanullah was proclaimed Amir. The calm of the country was not disturbed by these occurrences.

In his first proclamation to the Afghans, Amanullah declared that he intended, like his two predecessors, to base his foreign policy on the continuation of the alliance with Great Britain. Unfortunately, his first [illegible] his own words, and they were appare[illegible] promises of some Russian off[illegible] arrive at Cabul at this [illegible] most alluring promis[illegible]uble with the Briti[illegible]oledge that if he [illegible]dy, Russia wo[illegible]0,000. At th[illegible]perienced, [illegible]er. Still, [illegible] been in [illegible]

such a hurry to commit himself to definite action a hostile nature. In May, 1919, only three mont after he had acquired supreme power, his regul troops crossed the frontier into British territor This step was unprovoked and wanton, and the be excuse for him is that he did not know what he w doing. If he thought that he would take the Indi authorities unawares, and at least obtain some su cesses at the beginning, to be followed, as the Hin agitators resident in Cabul confidently assured hir by risings in India, he was speedily undeceived. Th border garrisons were on their guard, the reserv were speedily at hand, the expeditionary forc advanced to carry the war into his country. But th first retaliatory measures were of a still more di turbing character. While the fighting on the fronti was in progress, news came that the air forces India had begun to bomb Cabul and Jellalaba These emissaries of destruction proved harbinge of peace, for the Amir at once asked for the terms a new settlement. In July, 1919, a conference wa held at Rawul Pindi between the British authoritie and the Amir's representative with the followin result. The conditions imp [illegible] the Governme of India, and acce [illegible] ruler, we the cancelling of a [illegible], the stop page of the su [illegible] the priv lege of impor [illegible] h ha been accorde [illegible] the side, the A [illegible] t a specified [illegible]

Probab [illegible] in the di [illegible] e may hav [illegible]

and Ministers who desired to see a change in the friendly policy of his father and grandfather during nearly forty years, and he may have formed an exaggerated estimate of the value of the Afghan Army for modern warfare. These, however, would not alone have sufficed to induce him to commit the act of folly described. There must have been incitement from external influences, and among them the promises and inducements of Russian officers and agents counted most. A brief experience proved that these were hollow and vain, and that Russia was helpless to fulfil them. The malevolence of Russia was plain, but the power was absent. The Amir had been used as a cat's-paw ; let us hope that he has had the good sense to see it, for the attempt is sure to be renewed.

What is known officially as the Afghan War of 1919 left behind it a legacy of interrupted relations between the Government of India and that of Afghanistan, but this state of things could not permanently endure. More especially did this become clear in 1921, when the Soviet authorities succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Amir, which, among other things, g[illegible] the right to establish Consulates at [illegible]nd Candahar. Consulates be[illegible] dissemination of propaga[illegible]d were in more or les[illegible]dia, this concess[illegible]ndifference by an[illegible]ntenance of h[illegible] sent to the [illegible]sh mission [illegible] Amanullah [illegible] reception.

Sir Henry Dobbs was accordingly sent to Cal early in the year 1922. Up to this point, the fix principle in Indo-Afghan relations had been that t Afghan rulers were to subject their foreign relatic to British control, and therefore the treaty with t Soviet was a breach of that understanding. But t annual subsidy had been withdrawn and the exa relationship rendered undecided by the events three years before. The time had come to render t situation clearer.

The British envoy was instructed not to ins on the repudiation of the Soviety treaty, but to clai for his Government a similar convention, at the san time recognising that Afghanistan henceforth po sessed the status of a sovereign State, qualified conclude treaties with whom it wished and to esta lish legations in foreign countries, with correspon ing privileges to those with whom it conclud treaties. This amounted to a complete revolution the relations between India and Afghanistan, whic had always been regarded as a dependency of th former. It should not be forgotten that the Am Abdurrahman, while agreeing to the old conditions had often expressed the de[illegible] establish direc relations with the Su[illegible] in Londor but this pretensio[illegible] partly, n doubt, because [illegible] an ar rangement m[illegible] wit other Powers. [illegible] vie these views [illegible] er necessary t[illegible] esteemed [illegible] were advis[illegible] right. Th[illegible]

istan, acquired the usual diplomatic prerogatives, and thus Afghanistan took its place formally among the Powers of the world.

The treaty of 1921 with the Soviet had given Russia the right to establish Consulates in certain Afghan cities. That with the British Government in the following year conferred on it a corresponding right if the former ever put the stipulation in force. The Amir is said to have given a personal promise that he would not allow of any Russian Consulates near the Indian frontier, and up to the present the Soviet has had to remain content with its Legation at Cabul for the purpose of disseminating its new doctrines of social disintegration among Asiatic peoples. The subsequent phases of Sovietic activity have been displayed more in the borderlands of Afghanistan than in that State itself. In Central Asia the Khanates have been transformed into Sovietic republics, of which the ancient kingdom of Bokhara was the most important. In his hour of need, the Amir of that country appealed to his Afghan neighbour for assistance to maintain his independence, but Amanullah had not the will, or perhaps the power to accede, and so the Soviet grasp was [illegible] whole of the region north of [illegible] been risings and insurrecti[illegible] but nothing has happe[illegible] the Russian stra[illegible]rving Moslem ra[illegible]off.

[illegible]pation from o[illegible]w-found in-[illegible] London, [illegible] the cost of

maintaining a political delegation of any kind in foreign countries is very considerable in these days, and Afghan Legations seemed likely for some time to prove only an expensive hobby. To justify their existence and to make them pay in a business sense, it was necessary that they should be the signposts of an enlightened policy and of a genuine desire to move with the same current as the rest of the world. It was not long before the young Amir Amanullah began to give proof that he was desirous of showing that if Moslem energies had long been dormant, they were not dead. The example of Angora was there to stimulate his efforts to raise his country to a higher plane; and to show that he fully realised the significance of what Mustapha Kemal had accomplished in the preservation of Moslem rights and security, Amanullah concluded a defensive alliance with the Angora Government. But to put in force these new precepts of administration, it was necessary to reorganise the loose system existing in Afghanistan and to re-establish it on an orderly basis. In order to carry on, the revenue had to be fully garnered and then applied to meet the public charges on strictly economical and business lines. Leakages of all kind [illegible] ped, old resources multiplied, [illegible] red. The Ministers appoi[illegible] were instructed to devo[illegible] lating trade between [illegible] han-istan, and, [illegible] w-ledge of the [illegible] armed [illegible] at might be ne[illegible] own country.

The fina[illegible] tcom[illegible]

be seen at some still far-distant future, but the purpose behind them is good, and the Afghans themselves must benefit from their consummation. At the same time, it is not at all clear that there are, or can be, sufficiently remunerative outlets for Afghan trade with Europe to justify the maintenance of costly Legations in all the principal capitals. Afghan trade must relate principally to her dealings with her neighbours—Persia, the Russian territories, and India, and of the three India is far and away the most important and promising. There is an unlimited opening for its expansion which depends mainly on improved routes and security. The Indian ports are the natural outlet for any Afghan productions that may come into general request. By the same channel are obtainable those manufactures and raw materials that are essential to the development of the natural resources of Afghanistan.

In the past, the rulers of Afghanistan have possessed limited revenues and meagre resources. They were the proud rulers of a poor nation, but in these days it does not work to be poor. When a State enters the comity of nations it requires adequate resources to keep its [illegible]. Its economic value counts for not less [illegible] If it has nothing to show it w[illegible] away and hide in its primitive [illegible] ur declares that the S[illegible] hanistan under its t[illegible] ressure, withhol[illegible] sugar, that the [illegible] n the other side [illegible] warfare—the co[illegible] to secure political or [illegible] to be [illegible] hed. It is

external danger. This is the problem that is generally ignored, the one to which above all others the Bengalis are indifferent. They live in the remotest part of India. They paid the Chouth to the Marathas, they would pay it again as humbly as before to any resolute invaders. Yet those peoples, who dearly love their country, who cherish the spark of patriotism as the shield of their families and honour, can never put out of sight the grim possibilities that must be evolved by weakness, carelessness, or improvidence. It would be a poor spectacle to witness fanatics and demagogues in Benares and Calcutta applauding the social virtues of an unproductive equality while the Red hordes of the Don and the Ural were cutting their way with fire and sword across the plains of the Punjab to Delhi.

What would stand in the way? The Anglo-Indian Army, the loyalty and co-operation of the Indian Princes, and behind them the power of the British Empire. True, but have the agitators, the irreconcilables, the advocates of the boycott to bring the British administration to a state of helplessness, the right to expect that intervention? If they continue to display a childish malignity can they count on the E[illegible]onsenting to make those probab[illegible]o protect a thankless race, [illegible]ason for wonder if British s[illegible]e that with such ingr[illegible]orth fighting for a[illegible]ngali leaders to this [illegible]e know very well that the Brit[illegible]dia!'' which seems to take [illegible]eir feet unless they hold s[illegible]n

of their own force as to believe that they themselves are more formidable than the Soviet to any opponent. But they have overlooked one possible contingency. The British Empire, summoning all its forces, if necessary, and planting its millions of armed men where required, on the historic plain of Panipat or elsewhere, might very well decide after the hostile hordes had been annihilated that the time had come for a new policy towards those who had done nothing for the defence of the country, and who even seemed disposed to welcome its invaders as friends and comrades. Instead of tolerating any longer what the Americans call the "highfalutin" style of political declamation, the British rule might revert to first principles and reveal that within the glove of velvet there is still the hand of iron.

Leaving the ulterior consequences aside there remains the very real and not far distant danger of a Soviet demonstration in Afghanistan on lines somewhat similar to those that have been followed in China. In that way the Russian emissaries will come as the friends of the Afghans, and, through them, of the alleged downtrodden peoples of India. They will certainly not tell their dupes that the Russian pe[illegible]dden down into one indistingu[illegible]disease, and moral inertia, [illegible]hom they seek to conver[illegible]own fate. They will paint [illegible] colours, when there shall [illegible]law, a common purse, [illegible]ing in the abolition [illegible]ich [illegible]bodies all the ideals whi[illegible]garded as the essential virtues of [illegible] nations. The Soviets

are out, therefore, for a general warfare on mankind, and the time may yet come when the world will join in a common cause to hunt them down as wild beasts.

But for the present their true character is not fully known. It is not realised that their proposed remedies are curses. There are so many causes of human discontent existing that it is not surprising that they have found dupes in many quarters. Their success in China has been prodigious, they are very hopeful of accomplishing the same success in India, and it would be useless to attempt to deny that they are in close touch with many intransigent Hindus who have to reside outside the limits of their native land. How far these agents and sympathisers may be established within those limits is, for the moment, a matter of speculation, but their propaganda is intensive and difficult to trace. The will to do mischief is there if the power to perpetrate it is still absent. In the old days no one would have doubted that a clear *casus belli* had been established. In the present age we wait longer, we ponder till the provocation becomes unbearable, and while waiting we sacrifice many favourable opportunities to scotch the danger, thus all[illegible]row into an urgent and overwh[illegible]ge feature in the situation so [illegible] that not a single Indian polit[illegible]ention to the Soviet plan[illegible]vited his audiences to [illegible] time what they intend to do wh[illegible] be put in practice.

But desirable as it is t[illegible]ned opinion on this all-importa[illegible]n India, the

matter has a more pressing and imperative import for Afghanistan. The Soviet hordes can only reach India through her districts. They must secure a base in that quarter before attempting any serious inroad into India. There are three distinct suppositions to be considered in reference to that eventuality. First, they may secure the alliance of the Amir; secondly, they may encounter his opposition, but overwhelm him; and, thirdly, the Afghans themselves, or a considerable part of them, may unseat their own ruler and join hands with the Soviets, tempted not by their gospel but by the chance of plundering India.

With regard to the first supposition, there does not appear to be any likelihood within the near future—that is to say, assuming that there is no extraordinary change in the relations of the Great Powers with one another—of the Amir Amanullah going over to the side of the Soviets and concluding an alliance with them. It is impossible for him, or for any responsible and active-minded ruler to be won over to their subversive programme. They are the destroyers of kings and not their champions. Amanullah could anticipate his own fate from that of his neighb[illegible] The Amir's acts in 1919 may b[illegible]t at that time the misdeeds [illegible]e known in Asia, and the [illegible] sheep's clothing. Besides [illegible]casion was calculated to [illegible] have that effect was show[illegible] [illegible]iculation in 1922 with the Indian C[illegible] [illegible] is too soon to build largely on the [illegible] European tour will leave on his mind, but, [illegible], like Ulysses he will have

seen many cities and met many men from whom he must have learned something of the principles of the orderly and stable government which is so repugnant to the Sovietic iconoclasts. If the Russians wait till they have obtained the Amir's alliance the dawn of a better day may have broken in the old empire of the Czars.

With regard to the second supposition, that finding his alliance unattainable the Soviets should declare war on the Amir, or perhaps invade his territory without a declaration, this is, of course, not merely possible but within the bounds of reasonable probability. But if it takes place at all the probability is that the first stage of the business will be to overrun the provinces lying north of the Hindu Kush, and to watch from that position the consequences of their forward movement in the remaining provinces of Afghanistan and its effect upon the well-armed and warlike tribes along the Indian frontier. Whatever the military results of such an invasion might be there can be no doubt that it would lead to an Anglo-Afghan alliance in a clear and definite form. The temporary loss of the Turkestan province would not mean the overthrow of the Amir. With [illegible] ai[illegible]old on the districts from Kund[illegible]uld be ultimately strengthen[illegible]s set up in the old Khanates o[illegible]d by the uprising of the Moslem popu[illegible]ve been repressed but not conciliated.

With regard to the third [illegible], that the Soviet might succeed in creat[illegible]sturbances within Afghanistan itself, resultin[illegible] the upsetting of the Amir and the transfer of hi[illegible]uthority to revolu-

tionaries who might resemble the Soviets in some measure and be willing to take them as leaders for a raid into India, it is only necessary to say that Afghanistan in its chequered history has known many violent and unexpected changes, of which the murder of Amir Habibullah was not the greatest but the last. We believe that King Amanullah can take care of himself, but there is danger in introducing too sweeping reforms into a society where the old and the new are still so antagonistic as among the clans which form the fabric of the Afghan nation. But this eventuality would, like the first supposition, bring the Soviets at a stride to the Indian frontier, and while we dismiss the first from our thoughts we can never feel too sure that it will not be the third to pass into the domain of facts.

My object will have been served if, by drawing attention to the external peril of India, I have induced my fellow-countrymen and, still more particularly, my Moslem brethren, to remember that there is a more important interest for them in contributing all they can by word and deed to the security and tranquillity of their common country than in agitating, beyond reason and by improper means, for politi[illegible] refor[illegible] that, however desirable if obtained i[illegible] [illegible] manner, are, after all, of secondar[illegible] [illegible] preservation of the Empire i[illegible] against those foreign enemies [illegible] only on its destruction.

CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

WHEN Lord Morley summed up his views on the future of India at the time of the Reform measures being sanctioned in 1909 by the vote and resolution of the Imperial Parliament, he expressed the hope that they "would keep things quiet for twenty or possibly even for thirty years." However reasonable this view may have appeared at the time of its expression events refuted it. They had not kept things quiet, and the internal situation of India could not be described as tranquil. The Morley reforms, for all the influence they seemed to have exercised in producing calm, might, apparently, just as well have never been placed on the Statute Book. A real step, however moderate and cautious, had been taken on the path of salutary reform, but the effort to propitiate Indian opinion, by widening the range of office and opportunity previously available for Indian subjects and [illegible]dates, appeared to have fallen on closed ear[illegible]hearts. There had been no response. P[illegible] agitation did not diminish, political plotting increased, and the silence of the moderates, whose support Lord Morley had implored in almost appealing terms, was more complete than before. Certainly there was not much encouragement in this attitude for those who had a genuine desire to prepare and help India to discharge her task whenever, in the fulness of time,

she might show herself capable of taking a large part in her own self-government. The Indian agitators were providing those who did not regard the reform programme favourably with an abundant stock of ammunition, and even at the present day, after so many further concessions, there is no indication of a return to saner views and constitutional methods.

If there had been no Great War to absorb the thoughts and energies of the whole of the British Empire it would be arguable whether, in face of the attitude of that comparatively small part of the Indian community which could express itself in English, the whole policy of reform, which was based on the idea of promoting conciliation and concord between the two peoples, would not have been abandoned, or, at least, intermitted, for an indefinite period. Lord Morley had counted on tranquillity for at least twenty years. There was none for even twelve months, as the previous record shows, and even the additional concessions made by the King-Emperor at the time of his Coronation proved of very fleeting effect, as the attempt on Lord Hardinge's life too clearly demonstrated. While that condition of things lasted no British statesman would have ventured in ordinary times to make an attempt to appease Indian opinion by proposing further concessions.

The outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914 turned men's thoughts into a new channel, and the undoubted zeal and spontaneity with which the Army and the Princes of India threw themselves into the struggle on the side of the Empire carried the conviction that there was a worthier and nobler side to Indian character than that revealed by the

loud-tongued advocates of Swadeshism and Swaraj. For the sake of their efforts and sacrifices much could be forgiven and even forgotten. The hopeful seemed to foresee the dawn of a new era of mutual comprehension and respect in this rallying of all that was best in India to the cause of the Empire in its hour of supreme danger. In a speech at the Guildhall in June, 1915, Lord Haldane gave expression to this view when he said: "India has freely given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause, and hence things cannot be left as they are. This mighty struggle has made all of us realise our oneness, thus producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be a victory to the Empire as a whole, and could not fail to raise India to a higher level."

This speech, coming from an influential Minister and one of exceptional knowledge and well-known moderation, was the first public admission that India was to get her reward after the war had been brought to an end, and the reward was to take the form of raising India to a higher level. In other words, this could only mean that the Morley reforms would be amplified. But it was made clear at the same time that the how and the when for giving effect to those plans of amplification could not be discovered or fixed until after the war had been concluded, and that event was, at the time of the Guildhall speech, still unascertainable and remote. The opinion expressed by Lord Haldane was held generally, and serious people began to consider what was the best thing to be done for India, not only in her own interests, but in those of the Empire. Unfortunately the expectations raised in India by

interested parties, who foresaw that their work as agitators would be terminated unless they could represent that, no matter what concessions were made, they fell far short of what they demanded in their mood of insatiable intransigence, could not be gratified. On the eve of his departure from India in 1916, Lord Hardinge, whose sympathies with legitimate and attainable Indian ideals can never be disputed, pointed out the perils that lurked in unreasonable demands, and still more in the premature creation of unsuitable institutions. His wise words deserve to be permanently retained in the memory :

"During the past few months I have seen mention made in speeches at meetings in the country and in the Press of self-government, colonial self-government, and Home Rule for India. I have often wondered whether those speakers and writers fully realise the conditions prevailing in Dominions such as Canada or Australia which render self-government possible. I wish that some of these could visit the Dominions and see for themselves. A study of the history of these Dominions will show that the development of their present self-governing institutions had been achieved, not by any sudden stroke of statesmanship, but by a process of steady and patient evolution, which had gradually united and raised all classes of the community to the level of their enhanced responsibilities. I do not wish for a moment to discountenance self-government for India as a national ideal. It is a perfectly legitimate aspiration, and has the warm sympathy of all moderate men. But in the present position of India it is not idealism that is needed, but practical politics and practical solutions of questions arising

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

This exposition of political intention required to be read and considered with far closer attention to its wording than was bestowed upon it in India. The cardinal point in the proposed programme is given in the leading principle that "India is an integral part of the British Empire." Those extremists who seek and are agitating for the separation of India from the British Empire, who raise the exclusive cry of "India for the Indians," are proposing to contribute by their own act to the cancelling or withdrawal of all reforms, past, present, and to come. But the following qualifications are even more significant. All that was promised was "the *gradual development of self-governing institutions*, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India." It was affirmed in the clearest language that "this policy can only be achieved by successive stages," and that its practicability would have to be measured by "the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

It must be clear from these stipulations that the second batch of reforms, like the first, were to be granted on conditions, and the principal of these might be defined as the hearty and loyal co-operation of those who were to benefit by them in carrying them into execution and proving that they were both practical and beneficial. In September, 1917, Mr. Montagu sailed for India, where he remained for eight months in close collaboration with Lord Chelmsford, and the result was shown in their elaborate Joint Report on "Indian Constitutional Reforms," published in April, 1918. On this Report was framed the Government of India Act, which was passed into law during the Session of the year 1919.

It will be remembered that the last of Mr. Gokhale's requisitions referred to the control of the India Office, and certain modifications were made in its organisation which aimed primarily at producing celerity in the despatch of business. The India Council was subjected to revision, first, by the reduction of the fixed period of tenure from ten to five years, and, secondly, that new appointments were to carry with them the condition that the recipient was to have left India within the period of five years. This condition was made in deference to the view that in the changing conditions of India recent experience alone possessed value. The appointment of two Indian gentlemen of official experience and personal distinction had already passed into practice. Mr. Montagu carried this innovation one step further by appointing Lord Sinha to fill the post of Under-Secretary of State. In this way the voice of India had an increased

opportunity of making itself heard in the secret deliberations of the India Office.

A new post was created outside the India Office in a High Commissioner for India. This officer was charged with the control of contracts, the supervision of students, and other undefined functions which might be specified at later periods. He was supposed to represent the Governor-General and not the Secretary of State. Although the first holder of the post was a British civilian, Sir William Meyer, it was always held that a qualified Indian would be specially suited for an office which gave him the control of so many of his young countrymen.

The main feature of the new Act was the reorganisation of the administration in India on the lines of decentralisation, each division being made completely self-dependent, with a few reservations relating to matters of imperial, or at least general, importance. The divisions were the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the Governorships of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar, and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam. Each of these governors was to have an Executive Council composed of a maximum number of four members. Indians were to be equally eligible with Europeans for these appointments, and it was, of course, assumed that in the course of time they would form the majority. This delegation of powers, previously exercised by the Governor-General in Council alone was a tremendous innovation, and went a long way towards fulfilling the second of Mr. Gokhale's conditions.

The Indian Imperial Legislature was to consist of a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly.

The former was to be composed of sixty members, either nominated or elected, and of these not more than one-third were to be official members. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of 140 members, 40 nominated and 100 elected. In both cases the elected members were to hold a majority. This was the nearest approach to the constitution of a Parliament that had yet been made in India, and, rightly handled, the Legislative Councils might well have become a training-ground for Parliamentarians.

As the possibility of obstruction in the Assembly was foreseen, precautions in respect of reservations were taken to prevent the machinery of government from being thrown out of gear. The Governor-General in Council was empowered, (1) on declaring that he is satisfied that a demand refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, to act as if it had been assented; and (2) where either Chamber of the Indian Legislature refuses leave to introduce, or fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General, any Bill, he may certify that the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof, the Bill shall, on signature by the Governor-General, forthwith become an Act of the Indian Legislature. *Bills passed under these circumstances* are to be submitted to the two Houses of Parliament and only to become law on His Majesty's assent. The Crown is also vested with the reserved power to disallow Acts of the Indian Legislature.

Each Governor, besides his Executive Council, limited to a maximum of four members, was also to

be assisted by a Legislative Council, the members composing it varying with the population—thus, the Bengal Council has 125 members, Madras and the United Provinces 118 each, Bombay 111, Bihar and Orissa 98, the Punjab 83, the Central Provinces 70, and Assam 53. The general principle applied to the constitution of these bodies was that at least 70 per cent. should be elected members. The freedom to discuss all questions within the Council's competence was unrestricted, but Governors held the same reserved powers as the Governor-General to ignore or set aside wilful obstruction or organised opposition to Government measures. At the same time, Councillors were to be absolutely immune from prosecution before any Court for the language they used during any Session of the Council to which they belonged. The principle of freedom of speech was thus established. As the innovations were of a tentative or experimental order, it was natural that precautions should be taken to control wilful obstruction and to enable the Government to pass measures which, in its full competence and responsibility, it decided were essential for the conduct of public affairs. The primary object in the creation of these numerous councils was to provide a training-ground for Indians in Parliamentary debates and in the discussion of political questions as the initial stage on the way to responsible self-government. The degree of success or failure in what in the nature of things could only be regarded as an experiment, has to be the test and guide as to the next stage in the political evolution of the country, whenever it may be reached.

In addition to the new bodies created by the Act, a Council of Princes was formed on a definite and

permanent basis. Lord Lytton was the first Viceroy to make this proposal, and he had named Delhi as the appropriate seat of what he called an Indian House of Lords. In more recent times, a feeling had risen in influential quarters that all the projected reforms overlooked the special claims and quasi-independent position of these Indian Princes who still ruled one-fifth of the country. They had their treaty rights. Were they to be compelled to adopt and follow blindly the example and procedure of the British Government when their own judgment and knowledge made them think these so-called reforms unsuitable to the conditions prevailing in India and perilous to themselves? At least, by the most elementary principles of justice, they should not be deprived of the opportunity of expressing their views and making them known. The Viceroy had on several occasions invited the Princes to hold conferences with him, and the practice had proved mutually satisfactory and encouraging. The Princes understood the difficulties of government. They wished to help the Viceroy, not to embarrass him. No doubt some of them had grievances, but they expressed them in a becoming way. In his anxieties and difficulties the Viceroy found support and sympathy in his conferences with the Princes.

It was, therefore, decided to form a Council of Princes on a definite and permanent basis, and to constitute it as a consultative body on all subjects relating to the Indian States, and on Indian questions generally, so far as they might affect those States. The Council was to meet at least once a year at Delhi, and the matters to be discussed were formulated in an agenda approved by the Viceroy.

As a rule, the date of the Council's assembly was to be fixed by summons, but the Council was to have the privilege of requesting an extraordinary session for matters of exceptional or sudden importance. All Chiefs entitled to a minimum salute of eleven guns were, by right, Councillors, and, in addition, they were to have the power of nominating Ministers or Dewans to assist with the work of the Standing Committee. It was computed that the number of qualified Princes would exceed 100. In contrast with all the other creations of the reform movement, this institution has worked smoothly and justified its existence.

There was a clause in the Act emphasising and enlarging the principle that the services were open to all Indians so qualified, and that there should be no racial or religious distinctions. It extended the right to include the military as well as the Civil Service, and the subjects of the Indian States as well as British India. This step was the first taken in what has come to be known as the Indianisation of the army in India. The text of this important article is as follows:

"No native of British India, nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India.

"Notwithstanding anything in any other enactment, the Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, may, by notification, declare that, subject to any conditions or restrictions prescribed in the notification, any named ruler or subject of any State in India

shall be eligible for appointment to any civil or military office under the Crown to which a native of British India may be appointed or any named subject of any State, or any named member of any independent race or tribe, in territory adjacent to India shall be eligible for appointment to any such military office."

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report took cognisance of many matters that were not embodied in the Act. It drew a contrast between the two great divisions of the population. The first, the rural classes, forming the bulk of the inhabitants, and the second, the educated and politically minded, being no more than a small fraction of the total. The great source of doubt in this situation lies in the question how far the latter are in any true sense of the word representative of the former. This is a question that only time can unfold. At present there is no reason to regard the Bengali student or the Madras baboo as the true exponent of the needs or views of the ryots of all castes and degrees. Let us remember what the Report referred to said on this subject:

"On the other hand is an enormous country or rural population, for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically minded, and unused to any system of elections, immersed, indeed, in the struggle for existence. The rural classes have the greatest stake in the country because they contribute most of its revenues, but they are poorly equipped for politics and do not wish at present to take part in them. They are not ill-fitted to play a part in affairs, but, with few exceptions, they have not yet done so."

And here it may be observed, by way of interpolation, that the Report in question was, like every

other, the production of the professional politician, to whom political discussion and strife are as the breath of the nostrils, and the only wisdom admitted in their conceptions lies with the tickets in the voting urns. These creatures of modified or universal suffrage intrude upon the calm of India's life with their theories of what they call reform and their remedies of social inequalities which they designate miseries, although they are trifling in comparison with those that await the baffled aspirant in the intellectual contests of the world. These rural populations are poor, but their needs are few. Their existence, in comparison with the townspeople, is not so dull and unhappy as anyone who takes the trouble to watch them on any of the numerous occasions of holiday that fall within the year can judge for himself. It is the politician who is bent for his own ends in breaking up the calm of their life, and inflicting it with the canker of social enmity and political unrest. If we ever acquire the services of a true reformer, an Eastern Mussolini or Mustapha Kemal—and let us pray for his speedy advent—he will leave these millions in undisturbed possession of their pristine happiness, only warding off from them the scourges of war and pestilence, and it is with the hungry place-hunters among the political cormorants that he will deal with no sparing hand.

The same note provides the key to the description of the class termed the politically minded, that small minority of educated persons who claim for themselves the sole expression of the voice of India. As the authors of the Report were men of the same school, it is not surprising that they accept them at their own valuation and speak of their views with

a degree of sympathy that greater knowledge of what constitutes the true India must have diminished. This is what the Reporters wrote on the politically minded in India, the somewhat rebellious offspring of their own teaching and example :

"Our obligations to them are plain, for they are intellectually our children. They have imbibed the ideas which we ourselves have set before them, and we ought to reckon it to their credit. The present intellectual and moral stir in India is no reproach, but rather a tribute, to our work. The Raj would have been a mechanical and iron thing if the spirit of India had not responded to it. For thirty years the educated Indian has developed in his Congress, and latterly in the Moslem League free popular convocations, which express his ideals. We owe him sympathy. He has made a skilful and, on the whole, a moderate use of the opportunities which we have given him in the Legislative Councils of influencing Government and affecting the course of public business, and of recent years he has by speeches and in the Press done much to spread the idea of a united and self-ruling India among thousands who had no such conception in their minds. Helped by the inability of the other classes in India to play a prominent part he has assumed the place of leader, but his authority is by no means universally acknowledged."

The Government of India Act contained one article of a novel character. It was that providing for revision by a Statutory Commission at the end of the first period of ten years :

"PART VI (A).

"*Statutory Commission.*

"84 A. (1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a commission for the purposes of this section.

"(2) The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a commission for the purpose of inquiring into the workings of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable.

"(3) The commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the commission by His Majesty."

The working of the Act will be considered later on, but it may be said that its reception, on the whole, at first was not unfavourable. In the administrative sense, the burden on the Central Government was greatly lessened by investing the provinces with a large measure of self-government, including the control of what might be called local, or internal,

matters. Some progress was thus made in reaching Lord Hardinge's ideal that India would consist of "a number of administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all." It, however, did little towards reaching that of Mr. Gokhale, who aimed at benefiting the general community rather than increasing the opportunities of those who preferred words to work. He has called for the elevation of the depressed classes, so that they might be brought on a level with those who had been promoted to a superior position by the favour or self-interest of the Brahmans. This demand for the emancipation of the "untouchables" from the social curse was anathema to the Brahmans, and will yet become a life or death issue with the established hierarchy of the Hindus. He also pleaded for universal elementary education for both sexes, the higher education of women, the improvement of the economic condition of the ryots, and the extension of industrial and technical education. On these matters the Act was silent. Mr. Gokhale had also advocated co-operation in industry, and closer relations between the different communities, not excluding the European. This tendency would be a welcome sign of an improved situation in India, but so far it has not become apparent. No doubt it must be a slow growth, and time, patience, and perseverance are needed to bring such a consummation to fruition. As the growth of education forms part of the inquiry to be carried out by the Statutory Commission, it may be expected that the other matter of practical utility which formed part of Mr. Gokhale's programme will not be overlooked.

It was quite clear that the success of the Govern-

ment of India Act would rest with that small part of the Indian community which the Report euphemistically termed "politically minded." With goodwill and cordial co-operation it could have been turned to good account. Its provisions would have become elastic, its reservations need never have been brought into play, and the experiment might have proved free of unpleasant friction. In such case, the auguries for the future could only have been agreeable and encouraging. What was required was moderation in attitude and language. It was necessary for India's budding statesmen to show that they were capable of self-restraint, that they were not animated only by class interests or caste prejudices, and that they could judge public matters with a due regard for others, not excluding the Europeans. That was the way in which they would have promoted the permanent and true interests of India, but they would have figured less prominently in the public mind, and, in these days, all the world over, politicians seek the limelight. How far these requirements were fulfilled must be decided after the experiences of the last eight or nine years' working of the Act have been examined and discussed.

The most discouraging feature in the situation has been the silence and timidity of the moderates in coming into the open to give the measure their approval and support. On its first issue there were some of the more intelligent men of the day who expressed their approval of the Act and even their surprise at some of the concessions in it, but they had not the moral courage to stand firm. They retained their opinions, but they kept silent. The extremists, the irreconcilable agitator, who will not be satisfied

because he would be effaced and his mission ended, remained in possession of the field. The men of balance and moderation had no spirit for the fray, and declined to enter the dusty and derogatory arena which was repugnant to their habits and tastes. The day still seems distant when the men of moderation, in whose existence Lord Morley, at least, believed, will come forward to turn the scale in the political strife of India in favour of reason, justice, and good sense.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GANDHI PERIOD

It was very unfortunate that at the moment the Government of India Act was put in force the Moslems were in a perturbed and even a resentful mood. The terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, which not merely broke up the Ottoman Empire, but reduced the Sultan to the state of a vassal prince, had just been published, and filled the heart of every member of the Islamic world with grief and resentment. While the war was in progress, and more especially during the period when Indian Moslems were contributing in a large measure to effect the defeat of the Turks, they were assured that after peace was restored the Sultan should be treated with every possible consideration, and that nothing would be done to shock their sentiments of religious solidarity. That was the pledge given by responsible British authorities, both in India and in England. But in the Peace Conferences in Paris these authorities were ignored by the three self-appointed plenipotentiaries, with that extraordinary mental perversity, the American President Wilson, in control not with a big stick but with a bag full of post obits which, when he encountered opposition, he exposed on the table. Under such inspiration, it is not surprising that the Conferences produced some fantastic results, not at the expense of the chief criminal, Germany, but of her misguided allies in Austria and Turkey.

The Indian Moslems have no concern or interest in the endowment of Europe with a curious cluster of little States; but that Turkey should be placed in such a category raised their resentment and their ire. They felt the blow in a personal sense, for they seemed to detect behind it a set purpose to injure and humiliate Moslems everywhere. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George were considered to have put their heads together to revive the Gladstonian vendetta against the Turks forty years before, which was undoubtedly the original cause of the gravitation of the Porte from London to Berlin. The anti-Turkish craze was at its height, and the warning voices of the elect few were stifled under the edicts of the censorship.

Under any circumstances the conditions of the Treaty of Sèvres would have been pronounced unjust and harsh by my community, but there seemed to us a kind of cowardice also in the disarmament of the Turks prior to their revelation. It must have seemed to its framers that they had so arranged matters that the Turks could offer no resistance, since surely otherwise they would not have entrusted to the Greeks, whom I would call the Bengalis of Europe, the execution of their mandate. And for a time it really looked, after the Greeks had massacred to their hearts' content the unarmed in Smyrna and elsewhere, that there was nothing to save the unfortunate Turkish race from going to the doom decreed for them by a few religious fanatics. There does not seem any reason for the surprise expressed, even by sympathetic persons in India, at the fervour and frenzy that took possession of the Moslems of India at these acts of violence and aggression upon

the Sovereign whom they regarded as their Khalif, and whose empire symbolised their idea of temporal power.

The introduction of the Act into India was attended, in the first place, not by the more or less expected opposition of the Hindu Swarajists, but by the totally different and distinct outburst of feeling of the Moslem community at what they designated the monstrous conditions of the proposed Sèvres Treaty. The Turks were generally described in Europe and in the United States as "down and out," and the Moslems of India, therefore, felt it the more incumbent upon them to take up their cause with vigour. They would not have been worthy of their traditions and name if they had done less; but even in their disappointment they made no attack upon the new law. But the consequences of the "Down with the Turk!" wave in some Christian countries in India were quite unexpected and highly inconvenient.

No one would have assigned to the devout, ascetic Mr. Gandhi such astuteness as he displayed in seizing the opportunity provided by the public agitation to win over to his side the great Moslem community, which had held itself aloof from his faction partly out of contempt, but chiefly through indifference to his political doctrines. He publicly constituted himself a champion of the Moslem wrongs which lay outside India by propounding in their benefit the non-co-operative movement. Lord Reading endeavoured to counteract this tendency by representing that he was sparing no effort to impress upon the Home Government the necessity of remembering the personal interest that Indian

Moslems were taking in the treatment of Turkey, and his appeals were strongly supported by Mr. Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State, who was fully alive to the hidden perils of the situation. But the situation called for deeds, not words, and no improvement could be noticed in either sphere.

The first glimmerings of an improvement in the views held in Europe towards the Turks were beginning to reveal themselves outside England. The tyrannical mastery of the United States, because it had changed its attitude of neutrality, unavoidably benevolent to the enemy by its refusal to admit the right of search, to one of alliance in the closing stages of the war, over the debtor States of Europe had begun to produce friction and resentment when it was employed to control questions outside their purview. Europe refused to be led by the nose any further in provoking an irrevocable breach with the new Government at Angora. France sent a diplomatic mission, Italy followed suit. Munitions of war reached Mustapha Kemal from Russia and Italy. They came in good time, for the final storm was brewing. The Pan-Hellenists were counting on a signal success to seal the fate of Turkey ; and to show that they felt no doubt of the issue Mr. Lloyd George got up in the House of Commons and extolled the marvellous strategy of the Greek King, who was about to shatter the residue of Turk power in its last resting-place at Angora. Within three weeks of that rash prophecy the Greek army was overthrown and shattered, and the King in ignominious flight back to his capital, there to learn the bitter truth that the vanquished have no friends. The Turks had saved themselves. The Sèvres

Treaty was cancelled, and the Greeks were compelled to quit all the places in Asia and Europe which they had occupied. A new Power had arisen at Angora, thanks to the military genius and powers of organisation displayed by Mustapha Kemal.

The crisis over, the excitement among the Moslems in India naturally diminished. Their alarms were exchanged for a quiet confidence that their day was not over, and that the future might be envisaged with calm and hope. In England the Greek disaster cleared the air. No one who had attempted to repeat assurances of a permanent solution of an old problem through the valour of a Greek army, or the "marvellous strategy" of a Greek king, would have been listened to. It was necessary to turn back the pages of the old diplomatic records, and to restore the belief in the value of a strong Anglo-Turk concord. Much has been done in the right direction during the last five years, but it would be unwise to overlook the fact that there are rocks ahead unless some Heaven-born statesman can discover the way of reuniting the dismembered provinces of the Ottoman Empire into a solid Moslem Confederation, and thus averting the conflagration of a desolating war in the Near East

At the moment of the introduction of the new Act, Mr. Gandhi was at the zenith of his influence, and the Hindu crowds followed him blindly. In his first public address he declared himself in favour of forbearance until the Act had been working for some time. But this mood quickly changed, not apparently because the Act was disappointing, but because he saw in the Khilafat movement an opportunity of uniting the Moslems with the Hindus in

opposition to the British Government for the accomplishment of his Satyagraha, or passive resistance, which was to render it helpless and bring it to its knees. He had enough common sense to see that in practice his scheme could not even secure a trial unless all the communities of the country were behind it. What he never faced was the condition of things that would prevail when no Government existed. Such, it is declared, is the case in Russia, but there is a ruling body at Moscow, a tyranny revelling in blood and confiscation. It surely could never have been the gentle Mr. Gandhi's ideal, that his abolition of violence under the law should be followed by a hideous and devastating violence beyond the pale of all law!

While the provisions of the Act were being carried out by the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar, and by the appointment of ten Indian members and nineteen Indian Ministers to the Provincial Executives, and also by the election of the non-official majorities in the Legislative Councils, public attention was distracted from these practical reforms to watch the development of the visionary schemes of Mr. Gandhi, which, according to their author, were to conclude with the triumph of Swaraj within a year.

In order to give greater solemnity to the occasion the Duke of Connaught, representing his nephew the King-Emperor, went out to India to preside at the inauguration of the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi on February 9, 1921. He also was present at the inauguration of most of the Provincial Councils, thus placing the Royal Seal on all the promises that their creation represented. To

those who came within the spell of his magnetic personality the occasion seemed to warrant bright hopes for the future, but outside that limited range were the unreasonable and frenzied crowds who imagined that they could bring the Gandhi programme to a triumphant conclusion. These irreclaimable extremists proclaimed a boycott as their form of treasonable greeting to the representative of their Sovereign. The interest of that Sovereign was revealed in the Royal message which the Duke read to the Assembly:

"Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a Constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery, and you are now at the opening of the first session of the legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you and to the members of the various Provincial Councils my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

"On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies, by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments, to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to re-

member the many millions of your fellow-countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment, and to cherish their interests as your own.

"I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire."

So far as the Imperial Legislative Council itself was concerned this appeal was not made in vain, and the opening session went far to prove that when the will was present the Assembly could rise to the occasion and give the new form of government an honest and independent trial.

But, unfortunately, the storm centres in India were outside the Chamber. Mr. Gandhi was at the top of the wave of popularity, which made him the dominating influence in the National Congress, and a great majority of his compatriots now blindly followed his orders. Like most zealots, he had not taken into his account the certain consequences of his extravagant ideals. Although the fundamental principle of his teaching excluded resort to violence as a means of attaining his end, bands known as National Volunteers had come into existence, and resorted to various forms of intimidation. They were the emissaries of strikes, civil disorders, and open riots. The authorities were defied, and the police, upon whose loyalty and energy the security of the public depended, were made the special mark of their enmity. Mr. Gandhi's name was used freely to convince the people that he had miraculous powers as an ascetic, which would bring them untold prosperity and wealth without having to work for it—the first creed of the Bolshevists. Mr. Gandhi

said all this would come by passivity. His devotees had only to do nothing except to sit down in *dhurna* and everything would come to them. The machinery of government was to be clogged, the laws ignored, and out of the ensuing chaos a new heaven was to arise on earth. Mr. Gandhi's sermons against the use of force were of no avail in preventing the violent outbreaks in all parts of India that became almost a daily occurrence.

In view of this situation, which he stated that he deplored, Mr. Gandhi endeavoured to give a new drift to the movement with which he was identified by declaring that the salvation of India lay in the introduction of the spinning wheel into every family. "Spin your own thread and weave your own cloth," he said, "is the sure way to attain Swaraj." This panacea was a veiled form of attack on the great mill-owners and manufacturers of India, from whom he was endeavouring to obtain donations for his Swaraj Fund of 10,000,000 rupees. His diatribe against the resort to machinery as one of the curses of modern civilisation caused the first breach in the loyalty of those of his followers who were not prepared to endorse his follies when they touched their pockets. Indirectly this may have been the cause of his abandonment of his original tenet that the boycott, being an act of violence, was not to be resorted to. As a counterblast to his denunciation of machinery he sanctioned a boycott of imported cloth, and ordered that wherever it was found it should be burnt. This was not distasteful to the Bombay millowners and manufacturers, but the owners of the offending cloth had no compensation for their loss. When they objected to destroy their property

they were subjected to different forms of coercion and held up to the obloquy of their neighbours. The boycott of foreign cloth was accompanied by a strenuous effort to put down "home" alcohol, a Pussyfoot campaign for the spread of temperance in India. This produced more opponents than supporters, and introduced a further cause of discord into the ranks of the non-co-operators.

The natural consequences of what Sir Harcourt Butler called "playing on passions and pandering to ignorance" followed. The months which were to behold the introduction of Swaraj were marked by a succession of disorders, riots, and breaches of the peace to which no responsible Government could long extend its tolerance. The following summary of the principal of these occurrences is taken from "The Moral and Material Progress Report of 1921":

"The stern facts of human psychology continued to give the lie to Mr. Gandhi's benevolent dreams of a regenerated India. The lamentable tale of riots and disorders had continued month by month regardless of his exhortations. Many of these could be traced, without reasonable doubt, to the activities of persons who took his name as their battle-cry. The most common cause was mob violence consequent upon the arrest of National Volunteers for breaches of the law. At Giridiha a serious riot arose out of the proceedings of the local arbitration committee." A mob of 10,000 persons looted the police station, burned the records, and made an attempt to storm the gaol. A much more serious outrage occurred at Malegaon (Bombay), where, during a trial of Khilafat terrorists, the mob attacked the

police, murdering a sub-inspector and four constables. In Assam thousands of simple and ignorant labourers looking for the advent of the Gandhi Raj, when all were to eat without toil, were persuaded to break their contracts, and leave their work and possessions in a pathetic endeavour to return to their home villages, often hundreds of miles away. When they reached them they were regarded as strangers and outcasts. They were glad to return to the plantations by either Government or private aid, thoroughly disillusioned in Gandhi's remedies, and convinced that they had been made a cat's-paw of by political schemers. In Madras labour troubles, complicated by bitter communal disputes between caste Hindus and Panchamas, led to regrettable loss of life. In Karachi and Dharwar riots arose out of aggressive picketing of liquor shops. The trial of National Volunteers as members of an illegal organisation led to disturbances at Calcutta and Chittagong, and at Aligarh the despatch of troops was held to be necessary."

While the general situation throughout India arising out of non-co-operation, the boycott, and the riots was charged with menace to the public safety, the second Session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi passed off in an atmosphere of calm and order which was encouraging for the future. The new Viceroy, Lord Reading, expressed his approval and pleasure at these constitutional proceedings, but a degree of impatience was revealed in the demand for fuller Dominion status at the end of the ten years, when only an inquiry into the advisability of any further expansion had been promised. However, the most striking incident of

this Session was the announcement that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, having recovered from the fatigue of his colonial tour, would pay his deferred visit to India during the coming cold season.

In the meantime Mr. Gandhi was expanding his programme of non-co-operation into one of civil disobedience, which signified repudiation of Government authority, and was only to be distinguished from open rebellion by the fact that its supporters and propagators were unarmed. Mr. Gandhi issued a manifesto calling upon all Government servants who had the means of supporting themselves to leave the service and enter that of the Congress, which was pledged to obtain Swaraj within a very short period. So short a term was this imagined to be that one of his most hopeful lieutenants adopted the extravagant method of giving British officials seven days' notice to quit before handing over their authority to the self-constituted representatives of Northern India in the person of the Swarajists. There is no end to the folly to which political quacks will attach their name. They have a cure-all for every malady that affects the body politic, real or imaginary. The whole movement was marked by hostility to the Government, which was designated "Satanic," and the Brahmans among the leaders were still more offensive in reviving their old epithet for the British forces as "the Monkey Army." Racial animosities were thus being aroused to inflame the passions of the hour, and in face of all these multiplied provocations the Government remained strangely patient and even supine. Such a state of things had never been allowed to exist for twenty-four hours by any of his predecessors as had

now been done by Lord Reading for twenty-four months. When we reflect how an Akbar or an Aurangzeb would have dealt with such a situation, we entertain doubts as to the real wisdom of modern methods. They would have struck and stifled opposition by a single blow. These dealt lightly with the offenders, giving long life and speedy resurrection to the creators of trouble and their nefarious projects. Having encouraged sedition by inaction, having allowed the mischief to attain portentous dimensions, they find themselves obliged to resort to the good old reason when the duped masses may well complain because they imagined from their forbearance and inaction that the British Raj was moribund. Strength and not sentiment is needed to protect and save the weak and credulous from the designs of the wicked.

The Prince of Wales, in his rôle of Imperial Ambassador, landed at Bombay on November 17, 1921. He was the bearer of the following gracious message to India from the King-Emperor:

"On this day, when my son lands for the first time upon your shores, I wish to send through him my greetings to you, the princes and peoples of India. His coming is a token and a renewal of the pledges of affection which it has been the heritage of our House to reaffirm to you. My father, when Prince of Wales, counted it his privilege to see, and, seeing, to understand the great empire in the East over which it was to be his destiny to rule, and I recall with thankfulness and pride that when he was called to the Throne it fell to me to follow his illustrious example. With the same hope and in the same spirit my son is with you to-day. The thought

of his arrival brings with a welcome vividness to my mind the happy memories I have stored of what I myself have learned in India—its charm and beauty, its immemorial history, its noble monuments, and, above all, the devotion of India's faithful people, since proved as if by fire in their responses to the Empire's call in the hour of its greatest need. These memories will ever be with me as I trace his steps, my heart is with him as he moves amongst you, and with mine the heart of the Queen-Empress, whose love for India is no less than mine. To friends whose loyalty we and our fathers have treasured he brings this message of trust and hope. My sympathy in all that passes in your lives is unabated. During recent years my thoughts have been yet more constantly with you. Throughout the civilised world the foundations of social order have been tested by wear and change. Wherever citizenship exists it has had to meet the test, and India, like other countries, has been called on to face new and special problems of her own. For this task her armoury is in new powers and new responsibilities with which she has been equipped. That with the help of these, aided by the ready guidance of my Government and its officers, you will bring these problems to an issue worthy of your historic past and of happiness for your future; that all disquiet will vanish in well-ordered progress is my earnest wish and my confident belief. Your anxieties and your rejoicings are my own. In all that may touch your happiness, in all that gives you hope and promotes your welfare, I feel with you in the spirit of sympathy. My son has followed from afar your fortunes. It is now his ambition by his coming

among you to ripen goodwill into a yet fuller understanding. I trust and believe when he leaves your shores your hearts will follow him and his will stay with you, and that one link more will be added to the golden chain of sympathy which for these many years has held my throne to India. And it is my warmest prayer that wisdom and contentment growing hand in hand will lead India into increasing national greatness within a free Empire, the Empire for which I labour and for which, if it be the Divine Will, my son shall labour after me."

That noble message must have touched the hearts of all who read and understood its purport. Mr. Gandhi surely could not have been of the number, for he was plotting to bring the royal visit to a speedy and ignominious close. At the very moment of the Prince's landing he was addressing a meeting in Bombay extolling the merits of civil disobedience, the burning of foreign cloth, and the boycott, and undoubtedly many of his audience quitted the hall impressed with the view that they were to spare naught to mar the effect of the royal visit at its start, and to show that the National Volunteers were the real rulers of India and not the British.

The official reception of the Prince was of the imposing order that suited the occasion and the public demonstrations of welcome along the route of the procession were cordial and even enthusiastic. It was computed that not fewer than 200,000 people lined the streets to get a view of their future Sovereign, whose personality had aroused such deep feelings of loyal attachment and profound devotion wherever he had appeared throughout the Empire. The best representatives of the Indian

community, from the highest to the lowest, not excluding the untouchables, were there to show that they were not repugnant to the same emotions. But, to quote the official report, "unfortunately there was another side to the picture. The local non-co-operators had for some weeks been concentrating their efforts upon the task of spoiling the unanimity of the welcome. They had inoculated the more turbulent elements of the population with a determination to break the peace. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting held simultaneously with the Prince's landing, at which the attendance was disappointing. But the hooligan element, giving no heed to his admonitions against the use of violence, was even at that moment engaged in terrorising those other elements of the population who desired to welcome the Prince. Parsi and European passers-by were severely assaulted by mobs armed with bludgeons. Tram-cars were damaged, rails torn up. Disorder developed rapidly owing to the withdrawal of numbers of police and military to the processional route. As soon as the forces of order arrived on the scene the situation became more quiet. Numerous arrests were made, and on several occasions fire had to be opened upon violent mobs. Serious rioting lasted for nearly three days, as a result of which the total casualty list amounted to 35 killed and approximately 400 wounded."

The disorderly and semi-revolutionary scenes in Bombay were accompanied by similar outbreaks in Calcutta and other towns. Mr. Gandhi expressed himself shocked at the consequences of his own preaching. He wrote: "With non-violence on our lips we have terrorised those who happened to differ

from us. The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being a spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit." Mr. Gandhi was qualifying himself to figure as the Uriah Heap of Indian politics. He forgot that "who sows the wind must reap the whirlwind."

The success under adverse conditions, which were not very creditable to the good taste and sense of propriety of the Indian public, of the Prince of Wales's visit was undeniable, and furnished a bright incident in a darkening period of political controversy and racial discords. From Bombay, where despite, or, it might be said, in consequence of the rioting, his reception by the citizens of all races and creeds had been thoroughly cordial, and even enthusiastic, the Prince passed on to Poona, the former capital of the Peishwas. He went there more especially to lay the foundation stone of the Shivaji Memorial in honour of the great Maratha leader of the seventeenth century. His reception here was really enthusiastic, and on his return to Bombay further evidence was forthcoming to show that his irresistible personality was beginning to assert its charm over even the least forthcoming. From Bombay he visited several of the principal Indian States in the West from Baroda to Bikaner. Here there never could have been any doubt of the volume and sincerity of his welcome. From these healthy and vigorous survivals of the past he returned to British territory, visiting in turn Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benares. At Lucknow, despite the efforts of the local non-co-operators, he received an enthusiastic

welcome from both the citizens and the country people, who flocked into the city to obtain a glimpse of the Heir to the Throne, of whom they had heard so much. A local paper declared that he had charmed all by a rare combination of frankness, kindness, affability, and sportsmanship. At Benares and Allahabad the forces of enmity to the British Raj were more apparent than at any other places in the tour. It happened that several arrests had just been made of disorderly students who had advocated with too much vehemence recourse to the boycott and civil disobedience, and whose language had verged on incitements to open rebellion. It must have been an agreeable change for His Royal Highness to quit this atmosphere of surliness and bad manners for a pleasant week's shooting in the Terai as the guest of that great soldier-ruler, the Marshal-Premier of Nepal.

The next places on his tour were Patua and Calcutta. At Patua a *hartal* was enforced, but half the inhabitants ignored it and cheered the Prince. At Calcutta a *hartal* prevailed in the north of the city, but it attracted little notice in the other parts included within the Prince's tour, and the crowds were not backward in expressing their cordial welcome. The festivities arranged officially and municipally were on a scale worthy of the reputation of the commercial capital of India. They provided a bright interlude in the gloom of political sedition and communal disorder. The local *hartal* lasted for a day only, the interest in the Prince's visit and in his personal character and appearance went on increasingly during a whole week, and it was even observed that many of the non-co-

operators were drawn, as it were, against their will into the vortex of public enthusiasm and rejoicing.

On his return from Benares the Prince made a round of visits in Southern India, beginning at Madras, and proceeding thence to the two great Indian States of Mysore and Hyderabad. The next stage of the tour took him to Central India, where he was the guest in turn of the great chiefs who bear the historic titles of Scindia and Holkar. He then reached Delhi, where the official preparations for a great reception proceeded on parallel lines with the efforts to produce a counter demonstration of dissension, disloyalty, and treason. But at the eleventh hour the latter scheme broke down, and the official programme was carried out with due effect and complete propriety. At Lahore the enthusiasm was equally unbounded and as general among the people as with the official classes. At Peshawur an attempt to spoil the visit met with complete failure. He even included the frontier tribes in his list, receiving from the Afridis in the Khyber and the Yusufzai of the Malakand a demonstration of loyalty and admiration that may not have been the least heartening of all his varying experiences. And so to Karachi for home, with the following farewell address as a memento of the past and a page of the future to the loyal lieges of the King-Emperor in India:

"I bid farewell to India to-day with feelings of the deepest regret. I pride the hand of friendship which India has extended to me, and I shall ever treasure the memories of my first visit in future years. By God's help I may now hope to view India, her princes and peoples, with an understand-

ing eye. My gathered knowledge will I trust assist me to read her needs aright, and will enable me to approach her problems with sympathy, appreciate her difficulties, and appraise her achievements. It has been a wonderful experience for me to see the provinces and states of India, and to watch the machinery of Government with interest. I have noted signs of expansion and development on every side. It has been a great privilege to thank the princes and peoples of India for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the Empire in the Great War, and to renew my acquaintance with her gallant fighting forces. Finally, my warmest thanks are due to Your Excellency, to the officials of your Government, and to the princes and peoples of India, by whose cordial assistance I have been helped at every stage of my journey to secure my cherished ambition. I undertook this journey to see and know India, and to be known by her. Your Excellency's welcome at the outset, and the encouragement which I have constantly received on all hands since landing in India, has given me heart for the task. I have received continuous proofs of devotion to the throne and the person of the King-Emperor, and on my return to England it will be my privilege to convey those assurances of loyalty to his Imperial Majesty. I trust that my sojourn in this country may have helped to add some grains to that great store of mutual trust and regard and of desire to help each other which must ever form the foundation of India's well-being. On my part I will only say that if the memories which I leave behind in India are half as precious as those I take away I may indeed feel that my visit has brought us

closer together. That India may progress and prosper is my earnest prayer. I hope it may be my good fortune to see India again in the years to come.''

While the royal progress was furnishing a bright streak across the gloom affecting the whole life of India with the miasma of Mr. Gandhi's social propaganda, events were rapidly developing towards the inevitable crisis. The arch-prophet himself was beginning to waver from the extreme point of audacity to the other end of timidity, regardless of whatever reputation he may have ever possessed for consistency. Somewhat alarmed by the Bombay riots, and by the clear proof that he had no control of the mob, he abandoned, or, at least, deferred, his intended proclamation enjoining civil disobedience. Notwithstanding this withdrawal, a campaign of civil disobedience was started in Gujerat. The Government up to this point had been very forbearing, relying on the ordinary laws, and it was only on the discovery that they were inadequate to deal with the disturbers of the peace that recourse was had to those special Acts which conferred extraordinary powers on the Executive. These were, particularly, the ''Seditious Meetings Act,'' and the ''Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.'' The latter was to be put rigorously in force against the so-called volunteer associations, whose drilling and general system of intimidation were threatening the peace of the country. At the same time the Government called on the police to display greater vigour in the protection of citizens from interference and intimidation, and instructed the provincial authorities to deal promptly with all persons inciting

others to acts of violence, sedition, and civil disobedience.

The Government had in the opinion of everyone, European and Indian, who desired the maintenance of law and order been over-slow in taking steps to stem the tide of growing disaffection, and those against whom these enactments were directed did not at first appreciate their force, for their activities and clamours continued unabated. It was only after many arrests had been made that the accused bethought themselves of defending themselves and their actions as the self-appointed champions of free speech and liberty of meeting. This firm Government action compelled Mr. Gandhi to proclaim his intentions on one side or the other, and the moderates urged him to be conciliatory, so that he might improve the chances of holding a round table conference on the general situation. But for some reason or other Mr. Gandhi's powers of conciliation were exhausted, and instead of moderation he displayed an irreconcilable attitude that could only be explained by a belief that his power was equal to that of the Government.

His bombastic ultimatum to the Government was that, as the condition of his taking part in any conference, the recent proscription of the volunteer organisation should be withdrawn, and all persons convicted for what he called non-violent activities should be released. He followed up this defiance by announcing that he intended to continue recruiting volunteers, and that he meant to push on his programme for spreading civil disobedience throughout the Services. Mr. Gandhi's display of temper and want of reason alienated the support of the

moderates, who had shown at first some dislike for the protective measures of the Government, and led to their promising their support to the authorities in all necessary proceedings. There was still time for Mr. Gandhi to amend his ways and to climb down from the lofty pedestal which he had erected for himself, but pride goes before a fall.

At the Congress held at Ahmedabad Mr. Gandhi carried resolutions developing his plans for pursuing a vigorous offensive. He declared that the volunteer associations which the Government had vetoed should be extended, and that all persons should be invited to enrol themselves in their ranks for the express purpose of organising civil disobedience. Individual civil disobedience forthwith was to be encouraged, while preparations were to be made for mass disobedience of an aggressive character. The difference between this and open revolution is hard to discover. To leave no doubt in the mind of anyone, Mr. Gandhi, speaking for the Congress, notified Lord Reading that he "must clearly understand that the non-co-operators were at war with the Government." An attempt made by Sir Sankaran Nair, subsequent to this bombastic declaration, to bring the Mahatma down to the level of ordinary humanity completely failed, for Mr. Gandhi was still riding the high horse and fulminating threats and ultimatums. The last of his ultimatums was sent to the Viceroy in February, 1922. It began by declaring that a campaign of civil disobedience had been forced on the non-co-operative party in order to secure the elementary rights of free speech, free Press, and free association. These rights had been assailed, he declared, by the Government by the

enforcement of the clauses of the two Acts already named. The terms of his ultimatum were to the same effect as his earlier pronouncements. He required the Government "to release all prisoners convicted or under trial for non-violent activities, and to undertake to refrain absolutely from interference with the non-co-operative party." If these conditions were complied with he would postpone his campaign of aggressive action, but he would in no way suspend that of non-co-operation. It was a sort of mental phenomenon that at the moment when the Government was getting ready to take decisive action Mr. Gandhi should have persuaded himself and his followers that it was on the point of yielding.

All the time that he was propounding these drastic measures, which, if carried out, could only have meant the downfall of the existing Government, Mr. Gandhi was proclaiming as loudly as ever that his policy was one of non-violence, and that any kind of appeal to force was opposed to his teaching, and contrary to his advice and orders. It is difficult to understand how any intelligent man, at least in his lucid moments, could have held such beliefs, and in the natural course of events an incident of a startling and dramatic character revealed the danger of a man of peace playing with the fire of civil disturbance and revolution. On the morrow of the final ultimatum a terrible outrage was perpetrated at Chauri Chaura, in the United Provinces. On February 4 twenty-one policemen and rural watchmen were murdered by a mixed mob of volunteers and deluded peasants. The official report of the impression produced by the terrible affair affirmed

that "responsible opinion all over the country, irrespective of creed and race, was horrified at this sudden revelation of the appalling possibilities of non-co-operation. Men felt that they had been walking insecurely upon the edge of an abyss into which they might at any moment be precipitated. A recrudescence of agrarian trouble in the United Provinces under the form of an 'eka,' or one 'big union,' of anti-landlord cultivators; a serious strike, obviously political in its bearing, upon the East Indian Railway, all combined to arouse public opinion against non-co-operation."

The Government had long been considering the necessity of putting an end to Mr. Gandhi's activities by his arrest. Its reasons for deferring what seemed the simplest and most effective method of suppressing an evidently seditious movement were attributed to reluctance to punish a man who was undoubtedly himself opposed to violence, although his programme could not be carried out without recourse to violence. As the popular belief in his divine inspiration was at first intense and widely spread, it was deemed prudent to allow some time to pass in order to reveal that his prophecies were mere delusions and never realised, thus dissipating gradually his influence over the ignorant masses. While his reputation remained intact and undiminished by repeated failures and disappointments, it was thought probable that his arrest would be followed by riots and bloodshed which would affect the innocent as well as the guilty. Finally, it was considered undesirable that such a strong measure should be taken before the termination of the Prince of Wales's visit. But the more carefully the facts

were considered, and the more copiously the information came from all quarters of the influence his teaching and exhortations to defy the ruling power were exerting over the ignorant masses in many parts of India, the clearer did it become that no other course was open than to prosecute the originator of all the trouble.

On March 10, 1922, Mr. Gandhi was arrested at Bombay and brought to trial, the Advocate-General conducting the prosecution. There was no difficulty in showing that Mr. Gandhi had broken the laws of his country by advocating doctrines and proceedings which aimed at spreading disaffection openly and systematically, so as to render Government impossible and thus to bring about its overthrow. Mr. Gandhi made no defence and pleaded guilty. His reasons for doing so were given in the following speech, which was interesting as a confession of good intentions perverted to a mischievous end, dangerous to the State, and still more perilous for those whom, by false logic and falser hopes, he won over to his views :

"I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrences, the Madras occurrences, and the Chauri Chaura occurrences. Thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night, and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that, as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of

this world, I should know the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk, and if I were set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I did not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all that I have said here just now. I wanted to avoid violence; I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is the last article of my faith. I had to make my choice; I had either to submit to a system which I consider has done irreparable harm to my country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it, and I am therefore here to submit, not to a light penalty, but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime, and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen."

Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment, and the trial and sentence were received without the least trace of public excitement or resentment. Someone summed up the event in the following crisp sentence: "Gandhi was clapped in gaol and not a dog barked."

CHAPTER IX

MOSLEM AND HINDU

THE relations that can be maintained between the Moslems and Hindus provide the keynote to any solution of the Indian problem. It is idle to talk of a united India until respect and concord are established between those two vast communities, mutual respect for their religious practice and belief, reciprocative concord on a due appreciation of their separate merits and virtue. That halcyon day is not yet in sight, and it would be misleading to represent the contrary. This deep racial and religious incompatibility between themselves is something quite apart from their different or their common views about the British Raj. It would still exist if there had been no British Raj in the past, or if by some unforeseen cataclysm it were brought to an end to-morrow. The European way is to patch up a difference temporarily and to call it a solution; the Asiatic is to let it burn to the socket.

When troubles fell upon the Ottoman ruler and people in the way described, the Indian Moslems drew themselves together after the war was concluded in a Khilafat League to aid them in their hour of tribulation. It so happened that among the Moslems there were some who had advocated an attitude of sympathy with Turkey even to the extent of refusing to sanction the employment of our troops against her. In their aroused religious zeal and sympathy they forgot that they were British sub-

jects, and that they had a duty to perform as such that could not be repudiated even for the sake of a common religious cause. In national affairs it is not possible to serve two masters, if the supreme appeal happens to be made for both at the same moment. But these extremists were few in number and rare exceptions. They would never have obtained a hearing but for the unfortunate incidents which led many of us to think that the British Government was going back upon its promises. The true attitude of the Indian Moslems had been revealed on many occasions in Afghanistan, Egypt, Persia, and the Soudan, when, in the course of their duty, they had been called on to fight adversaries of their own creed. The final proof of loyalty to the Empire had been furnished when the lists were opened in 1914.

The Khilafatist movement to extend sympathy and support to Turkey had nothing to do with the internal condition of India, and in its programme and earlier proceedings nothing will be found of the nature of a desire to embarrass the Government. The arguments used were that certain pledges had been given on their undertaking what it required no rhetoric to show must be an unpleasant duty, and that they had been broken in the most cynical fashion by Mr. Lloyd George. In January, 1918, that Premier had declared: "We are not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor which are predominantly Turkish in race, while we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople." Mr. Lloyd George did not stop there. He defined in clear and impressive terms

what would be the consequences to British reputation if those promises were broken in either the letter or the spirit: "There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that you could not trust the British word. That is the danger. It would be a fatal reputation for us." Yet it was Mr. Lloyd George who in this very connection placed, by his inconstancy, the honour and the reputation of Britain in jeopardy among Moslems all over the world.

Enough has been said to show that if some of the Khilafat leaders used violent language and proposed violent measures they did so under the provocation of the Prime Minister's acts. Their own indignation and disappointment made them the more readily succumb to Mr. Gandhi's offer to combine with them and to make the Mahomedan grievance the first article in his programme of co-operation. Under the circumstances, when there did not seem any room to hope that the British Government would drop its Hellenic projects, the Khilafatists could not have refused to take the hand proffered them by the Hindu leader. For the first time in their relations it really seemed as if a close alliance and an effective co-operation might be established between the two communities. But even from the start their fundamental differences could not be suppressed or concealed. The Hindu agitators wanted Swaraj to be attained by the supersession of the English and their "Satanic" Government, while the Moslems only required the just treatment of the Turks and the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. They were not up in arms for any selfish end. Nothing could have been more disinterested than their programme, which was

animated by solicitude for another race of remote kinship.

We have seen how Mr. Gandhi sought to humiliate, embarrass, and overthrow the British Government. The wiser leaders among the Indian Moslems strove to attain their object by bringing all the moral pressure they could to bear on the Viceroy and his Council. Of one thing they never had any doubt, and that was that the Viceroy, from his knowledge of the situation in India, could not but be in sympathy with their sentiments and opinions. They were right. Lord Reading assured their representatives of the fact on every occasion of their meeting, and he, at least, kept his word and upheld the integrity of the British reputation. Not less emphatically or stanchly did the Secretary of State, Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, stand up in behalf of the Moslems and support their demand for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, which, low as his power had fallen, the Sultan resolutely refused to ratify. How firm was Mr. Montagu's support was to be made clear in a dramatic manner. On March 7, 1922, Lord Reading, in his official position as Viceroy and Governor-General, after consulting all the Provincial Governments, sent the following telegraphic despatch to the Secretary of State :

"On the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference we find it our duty again to lay down before His Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty. The Government of India are fully alive to the complexity of the problem, but India's services in the war, in which Indian Moslem troops so largely participated, and the support which the

Indian Moslem cause is receiving throughout India, entitles her to claim the extremest fulfilment of her just and equitable aspirations.

"The Government of India particularly urge, subject to the safeguarding of the neutrality of the Straits and of the security of the non-Moslem population, the three following points, namely:

"1. The evacuation of Constantinople.

"2. The suzerainty of the Sultan in the Holy Places.

"3. The restoration of Ottoman Thrace (including Adrianople) and Smyrna.

"The fulfilment of these three points is of the greatest importance to India."

In the ordinary course of official business, this despatch would never have been made known publicly until at some remote period it might have been released to figure in a Parliamentary paper. As to what its effect would have been within the Cabinet itself, only a member of that body could have had the opportunity of judging. It might have made no impression on those who clung obstinately to their first opinions. It would scarcely have availed to reduce the majority therein to a minority. But when brought in dramatic fashion to the public notice it produced an immense effect on public opinion and awoke the country to the gravity of the situation. Mr. Montagu, rightly or wrongly, with full intent or by accident, took the step necessary to precipitate a solution. The despatch, received at the India Office on Sunday, March 8, was distributed for publication, and appeared in all the papers on Monday, March 9. It was generally assumed that the publi-

cation was made "with the definite assent of His Majesty's Ministers."

This assumption was soon discovered to be erroneous, and it was immediately established that Mr. Montagu had acted on his own responsibility, and the explanation he gave in his letter of resignation to Mr. Lloyd George shows that it was not done by accident, but rather of set purpose. This is the sentence: "I have been fully seized of the grave difficulties which have resulted from the Treaty of Sèvres in India, and I felt it to be my duty to do everything in my power to support the Government of India. When, therefore, I was assured that the Government of India regarded this matter as one of the greatest urgency, and when I considered their request in this and all its aspects, with the recollection of the many decisions on every class of subjects which the Government had found it inevitable to take without discussion in the Cabinet, I felt and feel that I was justified in the action that I took. I believe that there is much to be gained and little to lose by publicity in these matters, and that that was the reason why the representatives of India had been given up till now the fullest freedom in expressing their opinions."

It cannot be forgotten that Lord Reading championed Mr. Montagu's action by declaring in public that "the news of Mr. Montagu's resignation came to me as a complete surprise, and I see nothing in the publication of the Government of India's telegram to explain it. I take the fullest responsibility for the telegram sent, not only because I am the head of the Government of India, but because the proposal originated with me."

Lord Curzon in one of his ruffled moods revealed the irritation created among the pro-Greek partisans in the bosom of the Cabinet when he declared in the House of Lords a week after the incident that "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away had dictated to the British Government what line it ought to follow in Thrace." To style the Government of India "a subordinate branch" would not have been deemed polite or proper during his own consulship. Some impression was, however, visible, at least so far as words went, at the then imminent Conference at Genoa, when a resolution was agreed to that the Greeks should give up Smyrna and quit Asia Minor. But as no steps had been taken five months later towards carrying out this decision, and as at that date the Greek King, with Mr. Lloyd George's "God speed," was starting on his gambler's throw to capture Angora, it would not appear that the resolutions passed at Genoa were entitled to much weight. The solution of the difficulty was provided by deeds and not by words. The Greek King's adventure ended in personal and national disaster. It will be long before Pan-Hellenic megalomania again raises its bruised head. But many months elapsed before an agreement was arrived at at Lausanne by which the original Moslem demand that the Turks should recover Adrianople was at last conceded. We must all hope that the Peace concluded at Lausanne will long endure and that it marked the beginning of a new era of goodwill and concord between the British and Turkish Empires.

The immediate effect of the Lausanne Treaty in India was that the Moslems ceased their agitation

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and fell away from the temporary co-operation with the Swarajists. There had been breaches in that co-operation even before Mr. Gandhi's arrest, and many incidents occurred to show that the differences between them were radical and not to be removed by expedients of a purely temporary character. With the exception of a few individuals who had gone too far in their engagements with the Congress party to draw back, the great mass of the Moslems, satisfied with what they had achieved, resumed the quiescent attitude they had observed since Lord Morley had conceded the principle upon which their special position in regard to all councils and boards was recognised and established.

Even before the full effect of the Lausanne articles had come into operation, the utter incompatibility of view between Moslem and Hindu was revealed. Mr. Gandhi had declared in one of his boastful moods that the union between the two communities was perfect in so far as "national" matters were involved, national matters meaning, of course, in his view, those of the Tolstoyan or Bolshevist creed. But the rapid weakening of this temporary bond, due as much to the overbearing attitude and pretensions of the Hindu leaders as to the changed mood of the Moslems on the proof that the security of Turkey was assured, led to the revelation of the hollowness of the alleged union, for which, at the most, all that could be said was that it was based on race-hatred towards the British. But that race-hatred was soon shown to be as nothing in comparison with the animosity of Hindus towards their Moslem brethren. The more carefully that animosity is analysed, the clearer does it become that it was

one-sided, a Hindu, and more especially a Brahman, monopoly. British official reports, trying to hold the scales level, laid the blame for the disturbances that have to be described now on one side, now on the other, but no inquirer into the facts will have any difficulty in discovering that the first provocation, the original aggression from which all the subsequent trouble emanated, was the act of Hindu mobs, gangs, or individuals.

The riots in Multan in September, 1922, was a case in point. The Moharrum is one of the great Moslem festivals. It celebrates the memory of the Hazrat Imams, Hassan and Hussein, the sons of Hazrat Ali and the maternal grandsons of the Prophet, with which the Mahomedan year begins.

The Hindus are fully aware of its significance to Mahomedans, and any attempt to interfere with the processions could only be due to a wanton spirit of provocation and profanity. There is no uncertainty about the date of the festival. It is known to everyone long before it arrives ; the Moslems look forward to its arrival with sentiments of religious enthusiasm and devotion. Any attempt to interfere with the processions of eager and rejoicing Moslems, to molest the participants, to greet and disturb them with the blowing of horns, could only be set down as a deliberate affront, an intentional and long-prepared act of communal animosity. The incident at Multan was of this character. The attempt to molest the Moslems and to break up their procession culminated in a riot. The prompt intervention of the police prevented its attaining serious proportions, but there was some bloodshed, and the relations between the two communities in that dis-

trict were so much embittered that they have not yet settled down in calm.

The Multan incident did not long stand alone. It seemed to engender a series of communal disturbances. In February, 1923, a serious riot occurred at Wadhwan in the Bombay Presidency. Fresh cause of offence was given to the Moslems in the attempt made by the Arya Soamaj to reconvert a community known as the Malkana Rajputs, who had gone over to Islam in Akbar's reign. This project of proselytism was set in motion by a vigorous campaign of moral pressure which was a new departure in communal rivalry. The Moslems were naturally very indignant, and took strong measures to defend their co-religionists. Religious feeling rose high, and missionaries from both sides were despatched, the one to uphold the contemplated victims of a Hindu coup, and the others to conduct the campaign to make it successful. The Muttra and Agra districts were the principal centres of this conflict. Throughout the year the tension between the Hindu and Moslem masses—not at one point, but in many different quarters—developed to an alarming degree. In March and April there were riots of a more or less serious character at Amritsar and other places in the Punjab. In May there was a further serious outbreak at Amritsar, and the disturbance even reached the usually tranquil region of Sind. In June and July Moradabad and Meerut and the important city of Allahabad witnessed scenes of great disorder. At Ajmere the riots assumed a dangerous aspect. In August and September there were serious collisions between representatives of the two communities at Panipat, Gonda, Jubbulpore,

Rae Bareilli, and Amritsar and Agra were for a second time disturbed by clashes between the masses, which were marked by much savagery and serious damage to property.

At Saharunpur in the Doab the celebration of the Moharrum was made the excuse for one of the most serious religious riots of recent years. Cases of murder and arson added a fresh and more alarming feature to the common incidents of loot and maltreatment. As must be obvious, these occurrences, following rapidly one after the other, sufficed to embitter the relations between Moslems and Hindus over a much wider area than the localities in which the scenes were enacted. These collisions were apparent to every onlooker, but it may be doubted whether the so-called Shuddhi movement for winning back the Mahomedan Indians was not regarded by thoughtful Moslems as the more sinister form of attack on their position by sap and mine. This led to proposals of retaliation by a systematised effort to attract some of the primitive, or non-caste, races to abandon their animism for a sound and healthy religion such as no Christians would think of denying to that of Mahomed. This propaganda in rivalry to the Shuddhi proselytism is known under the name of Taznim, and should be widely supported.

Communal rivalry was fomented by other considerations than those of religious animosity. As experience of the working of the local bodies increased it was found that the Hindus, wherever they formed a majority, wished to obtain a monopoly of all posts within the competence of the board's patronage. The redistribution of seats upon municipalities and district boards, the appointment of

approved individuals to official positions, and many other minor steps, seemingly innocent but all insidious, towards the realisation of a definite aim, combined to arouse the suspicions and increase the bitter feeling among the members of my community. Finding that they were creating an impossible position, the Hindus then had the audacity to declare that the Moslems themselves were disposed to allow communal representations to be ended, although they were very careful not to explain how this was to be accomplished. This subtle suggestion was effectively disposed of by Mr. Zafrulla Khan, Member of the Legislative Council of the Punjab, in a letter to *The Times* dated September 24, 1927:—

"In his article published in your issue of the 21st instant, under the heading 'Some Indian Problems,' Sir Chimanlal Setalvad made the astounding statement that Hindu and Moslem leaders are agreed that communal representation should in some manner be ended, subject to the proper and adequate representation of the Moslem community in the Legislatures. There is no doubt that some Moslem members of the Legislative Assembly put forward proposals to this effect last March, but Sir Chimanlal has carefully omitted any mention of the fact that these proposals have been repudiated by the Moslem community throughout the country in a most emphatic manner, and that the community has reiterated its firm opinion that the present system of separate electorates is one of the essential safeguards of the rights of the minority communities, which must be maintained till the major community is able to win the confidence of the minorities to an extent which would render the

continuance of such safeguards unnecessary. Two of the major provinces—namely, the Punjab and the United Provinces—have not confined themselves to the emphatic expression of this opinion above, but have deputed representatives to come over to England and to urge the necessity for the maintenance of these safeguards before the British public. In view of this, I would submit that Sir Chimanlal's statement referred to above does not correctly represent the attitude of the Moslems towards this question."

As the trap laid for the Moslems of India to give up voluntarily their minority rights under the Morley Charter in one direction has been exposed, it is not likely to fare better when repeated or resorted to in a new and more important direction. The maintenance of our communal rights is the more vital, as in all local interests in which close contact with the opposite party is inevitable lie the true safety and happiness of the whole community. To oust the Moslems would be to deprive their half of their spokesmen and guardians.

The extremely fair-minded gentleman, Sir Theodore Morison, Principal of the Armstrong College at Newcastle, in a letter to the *Morning Post* on this very subject, made the following apposite remarks:

"Your unequivocal support of separate electorates in the same article will be read with deep satisfaction by the Mussulmans of India; they are very seriously apprehensive that the British Parliament may, by a change in the Constitution, deny them the right of choosing their own representatives and leave them to the mercy of a Hindu majority.

All Englishmen who know India at first hand will share their apprehension. Within the frontiers of India live two nations, the Moslem and the Hindu, which entertain for each other the same feelings as do, for instance, French and Germans, and who differ from one another more profoundly than any two nations in Europe. The statement of Sir Abdur Rahim (quoted by Miss Mayo, p. 309) is courageous and unanswerable: 'Any of us Indian Mussulmans travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, Turks, would at once be made at home and would not find anything to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our fellow-Hindu townsmen live.' This is the fundamental fact on which Indian society is based, and any Constitution which is not founded on it will come to the ground.

"Nationalities in India are not identified with particular localities, but they have all the passions, good and bad, which distinguish nationalities in Europe. They can be inspired by a pure patriotism which moves individuals to devote their lives to the welfare of their people; many Hindu social reformers are proof of this. They can also be inflamed by the most pernicious 'Chauvinism.' In fact, they are not one whit better or worse than the nationalisms of Europe. Ask at Geneva how many nationalities in Europe can be trusted to deal fairly with enemy minorities, and then calculate the chances that a Muslim minority would have in India."

The opinion of the Right Honourable Syed Ameer

Ali on any question relating to the position of Moslems in India is entitled to the greatest weight, because it is based on a calm and well-balanced judgment as well as on a rare knowledge of the world. This extract is taken from his letter to *The Times* of November 3, 1927:

"The causes of the communal feuds, which since the initiation of the reforms have disfigured the history of India, appear to me to have been misunderstood. The British Government is, I fear, inclined to follow the line of least resistance; one section is more articulate than the other, and naturally the impression has gained ground that the Mahomedans are ignorant and obstinate and opposed to any unity of action. It is not that they are opposed to constitutional advance, but they object to have their civil and political rights left in the background. Unfortunately, the larger community has by its numbers obtained the practical administration of the country; the other is apprehensive of losing every political right in the growth of nationalism among their rivals.

"This seems to me the real problem which the Royal Commission will have to solve; and unless that is solved satisfactorily and with justice to every section, the country will, I fear, remain in the same disturbed condition as now."

Mr. Ameer Ali* was perfectly correct in stating that "one section is more articulate than the other."

* Since these lines were written the honourable and distinguished career of this great and wise Moslem leader has closed. We have lost the wisest and the sanest of our counsellors, but his life remains as an example for all of us to follow.

The Hindu section has an organised system of propaganda; its production of articles and pamphlets disseminating its own views and representing them to be the only authorised voice of India is immense and inexhaustible; it has spared no effort to secure the co-operation of British Liberals in the first place, of the Labour Party in the second, and if it does not prove sufficiently submissive to its views we have no doubt they will continue their cajolery in the camps of Communism and Bolshevism. But, on the other hand, the Moslems have done nothing. They have preserved a haughty indifference and a disdainful silence, with the result that the British public does not realise their importance, or understand that there can be no lasting settlement of Indian problems that fails to take due notice of their presence, and to show an appreciative regard for their rights. Propaganda is not everything; strength and resolution count for more; but it is folly not to take all the steps necessary to make it known that Moslems have not forgotten the lessons handed down to them by their forefathers.

The efforts made by the Hindus to throw the blame on Moslems for communal riots and outrages furnish an object-lesson as to their astuteness and activity. To read some of the effusions of excited Hindu leaders one would imagine that the Moharrum was a Hindu festival, and that the riotous persons who broke the processions with force were Moslems. There is no knowing to what lengths of misrepresentation and falsehood the firebrands of the Arya Samaj will not proceed. Here is a sample of what took place at a meeting in Bombay last October:

This meeting of Hindus, which was held in the Arya Samaj temple, condemned the recent attacks on Hindu leaders made by Moslems, and demanded that the Government should expose what was described as the conspiracy behind such attacks.

Some speakers advised patience, others violent retaliation. The chairman, who wore the ascetic's yellow robe, frequently reminded the audience that his status in life as a sanyasi (now a religious mendicant, but in other days a sort of religious bandit who plundered in troops) suggested the policy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. He said that if one crore (10,000,000) of Hindus, aged between eighteen and twenty-seven, volunteered to retaliate against the Moslem attacks, these would stop at once.

Resolutions were passed, including a warning to the Government that if prompt action were not taken a grave situation must arise. It was said that a widespread conspiracy existed behind the attacks complained of, and that the Moslem Mullahs and Moulvies wrote and spoke inciting their fellow-religionists to break the peace. One speaker, who declared that he had lately been threatened with assassination, said that the fear of death should not prevent Hindus from uniting. The Government owed it to themselves to stop the attacks, but not as a favour to the Hindu community. If those attacks were allowed to proceed unchecked, the habit would some day turn against the British.

A certain amount of cunning is revealed in the closing effort to attract the European community to the Hindu cause by appealing to its own apprehensions, but the accumulated evidence as to who

have been the true inciters of trouble during the last six years is far too complete and conclusive to allow of any doubt in the matter. The Government forms its judgment on the reports of its own police authorities and not on the utterances of irresponsible mob orators. That there is a very different opinion among Moslems can be seen from the following observations made by a correspondent of the *Muslim Herald* (Madras) in April 1925:

"In almost every Hindu-Moslem riot it goes without saying the provocation is from the side of the Hindus. They play music before mosques, or they adopt measures to prevent Mahomedans from eating beef, or for some other reason akin to it, which is an insult to their religion or a challenge to their honour. Mahomedans generally are a stupid lot. They do not use their brains where they ought to. They use their arms where they ought not. Then lend a deaf ear to prudential counsels for the sake of their religion. They take the law into their own hands. They rush with *lathis,* and foolishly caper before the carbines of the police and military who shoot them down. Then begins a period of terror. Scores of arrests are made, and hundreds leave their homes and fly away to avoid these arrests. They are landed before courts, while evidence is easily manufactured, and several go to gaol while their wives and children starve at home.

"The indirect effects are much greater. The Hindus boycott the Mahomedans. They refuse them credit, so that the petty Mahomedan trader is ruined. At Delhi last year the feeling ran so high that for two or three months the Hindus boycotted the poor Mahomedan milk sellers and vegetable

stall-keepers. Even Hindu barbers and washer-women boycotted their Mahomedan customers. In fact, a Hindu-Moslem riot means nothing but blood-shed, imprisonment, exile, disaster, and ruin to the Mahomedans of the locality, whereas the Hindus, guided by their cunning lawyers and aided by their rich merchants, grow more prosperous after each such event. If at all their losses amount to anything, they consist of a few injuries, or a shop or two looted. Outrages on women are falsely reported as a matter of course just to paint the Mahomedans in the blackest dye.

"I consider these Hindu-Moslem riots nothing short of an insidious religious persecution of the Mahomedans in India. It would appear that these things will never cease until they give up their religion and become the pariahs of Hindu society. These riots are often the index of the political and economical conditions of the locality. Whenever there is a lull in the political agitation against the Government, the rich and powerful Hindus divert their pent-up energies in trying the mettle of the Mahomedan minority, and in teasing and suppressing them. Whenever a few Mahomedan clerks get into office, or a Mahomedan magistrate is posted to a locality, or a Mahomedan appears to succeed in trade, their rivals and other mischief-makers instigate a riot on the plea of music before mosques, or the killing of cows always comes handy. It is really surprising that the law of the land does not adequately protect the Mahomedan in the exercise of his religion. It does not prevent the Hindu from beating drums before mosques, but when the Mahomedans make a demonstration against it the

law provides for shooting them down or imprisoning them."

Serious as was the situation during the years immediately following the restoration of peace and confidence in the Turkish dominions, it was greatly aggravated by several dramatic incidents, the first of which occurred towards the close of the year 1926. Reference has been made to the Arya Samaj and to its efforts to promote Pan-Hinduism primarily at the expense of the Moslems, and, subsequently, at that of the British. It is alleged that this body, or society, was already in existence when a remarkable man, subsequently known as the Swami Shardanand, took up the task of its reorganisation and development in the year 1898. There was nothing in the earlier career of this individual to suggest that he had the qualifications to play the part of a social or political reformer. Munshi Ram, to give him his true name, began his career as a police official, for which profession his exceptional stature and physical force well suited him. After a time he took up the study of the law, and even practised in the courts. In 1898, believing he had found his true vocation, he founded the monastic school of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar, which he made the centre for the dissemination of the cult and views of Pan-Hinduism. He may even have influenced Mr. Gandhi in his views on the matter of establishing a temporary union with the Khilafatists as the first step towards reducing the British Government, as he conceived, to a state of impotence. It is certain, at least, that he did induce a few Moslems, who ought to have known better, to associate themselves with him while the angry fit was hot upon them.

Although the Swami was a fanatic and a monastic recluse he had been too long mixing with men of all sorts in the material world to be oblivious of practical considerations. He realised that, despite their educational and financial ascendency over the other sections of the community, the Hindus were not sufficiently powerful to oust either the influence of the Mahomedans or British control in India. Success required that one of these should be set against the other, while the Pan-Hindus were to move the pieces in this triangular duel, and eventually to secure the spoils for themselves. A very striking account of an interview with the Swami was given by a Mahomedan gentleman, Syed Ali Khan, in the *Referee* of December 26, 1926, from which the following extract is taken by the editor's permission :

"An opportunity of studying the Pan-Hindu leader was presented to me a few months ago when I visited the Swami, at Delhi. Cumbrous and heavy lithographic printing machinery was producing the Hindu priest's newspaper as I ascended a dimly lit staircase to his apartments. On my striking the chain of the massive door a servant appeared, and led me to a narrow balcony overlooking Burn Bastion Road and offered me a seat. I was to wait there till his master had finished his meal, but he did not fail to remind me that I was not to touch the amber-coloured sheets which hung about the balcony, for by a mere contact with an 'untouchable' they would be polluted. He turned again before going and asked me to sit a little farther away. 'You are casting your shadow on the sheets,' he said apologetically, 'and if my master saw it I might be asked to wash them again.'

"I thought I had better stand; and after a while a middle-aged man of enormous dimensions appeared, rubbing his shaven head with his right hand, and adjusting a sheet of amber-coloured cloth which he had wrapped around him. He greeted me with a courteous smile, and for the first time in my life I saw a man in whose face asceticism blended well with the air of world politics. This god of Pan-Hindu cult was an impressive personality. He bade me sit down, as he sank on to a reed pillow with an audible thud.

"For a few minutes he sat mute, then he closed his eyes, muttered prayers, and, dipping his fingers in a copper bowl, drew white caste marks in parallel lines across his forehead. Then he made three signs with clasped hands to a tiny idol besmeared with red paint, and sprinkled some water around him in a circle. 'Do you come to seek the purification of Soul?' he asked; 'for is not the Hindu Soul the purest of Souls, and the Hindus the Chosen of the Gods?'

"To this I was silent. I was waiting to hear of his exposition of Pan-Hinduism in its political bearing. He went into a sort of half-trance, and was rudely awakened by the arrival of a regular horde of his disciples. As they came they folded their hands, kissed the ground before him, and sat like frozen ghosts. The priest at last addressed me: 'If all that I have heard of your desire is correct,' he said, 'I feel that you are an admirer of our cult, the old cult of truth of the Hindus. But it is unfortunate that you are not born of Hindu parents, for how can you drink at the fount of the purest philosophy that is taught at Hardwar, on the banks of the

Sacred Ganges. Pan-Hinduism is the need of the hour, and the time has come when cows will be respected; and the only call that will summon the faithful to prayer will be the tinkling of the temple bells. The rest must go.'"

No one can ignore this vivid picture of the sinister figure of the Hindu teacher, who, behind the scenes and without attracting notice outside a limited circle, was moulding men to his will, so that they might propel his Juggernaut car over the bodies of all who would not support Pan-Hinduism. In other words, this phrase means India for the Hindus, with no place left for either Moslems or Britons; and such was the contempt of this subtle-minded schemer for his intended victims that he convinced himself, at least, that he could play off one of us against the other at his pleasure, and attain the supremacy that would alone satisfy his all-grasping and domineering spirit. His was a far more formidable force than that of Gandhi's; not content with the mastery of men's minds, but resolved to unman them so that they might succumb the more easily when he gave the signal to strike. But before his influence and insinuation had established a nightmare over our minds there rose a man who knew how to strike the hidden foe. Abdur Rashid put a summary end to the Swami's career and propaganda, and if he was sentenced by the law for what in civil life is styled a crime, who will declare, when all the facts are unravelled, when the ramifications of Pan-Hinduism are revealed, that he did not render a service to those who desire to see the stable position established by the British in India maintained and preserved? As some proof of the

far-reaching schemes of the Pan-Hindus it may be mentioned that while the tragedy occurred in Delhi, the scenes of disorder and riot that followed were staged in Calcutta. They resulted altogether in 975 casualties, of which 102 proved fatal.

This high priest, or abbot, may have been the instigator of the author of the infamous anti-Moslem pamphlet which was suddenly put in circulation in the earlier part of the year 1924.

This pamphlet, "Rañgila Rasul," was published in Lahore in May, 1924. The title may be translated "The Merry Prophet," or, more broadly, "The Debauched Prophet," and it created at once the greatest indignation, and even fury, throughout the whole Moslem community. If the authorities had not taken prompt action serious disturbances must have ensued. The publisher was prosecuted by the Punjab Government under Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, which makes it a serious offence to promote "feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects"; the prosecution contending that the pamphlet was a scurrilous defamation of the Prophet of Islam. The publisher was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and to a fine of 1,000 rupees. An appeal to the Sessions Judge resulted in the upholding of the conviction, but a reduction of the sentence to six months' imprisonment. The case then went to the High Court at Lahore. The Judge, Mr. Justice Dhuleep Singh, held that, while the pamphlet was a scurrilous satire on the founder of the Moslem religion, he could find nothing in it that was an attack on the religion itself, and declared that he must, though with reluctance, quash the conviction.

The result of this decision was a great outcry among the Moslems and the passing by the Legislative Assembly of the Scurrilous Writings Act, which provides penalties for any person writing against the founder of a religion.

The matter did not end at this stage. The outrage rankled in the minds of many Moslems, and when it was realised that the offender had escaped with impunity, it was not strange that someone should take the law into his own hands. Rajpal, the publisher of the "Rangila Rasul" pamphlet was stabbed on September 26, 1927, by a Mahomedan. He received three stabs, two of which were severe, but there was no fear of his death. The Mahomedan was arrested on the spot.

The Swami Shardanand seems to have found an apt successor in the Pandit Motilal Nehru, who communicated his views to the correspondent of a German newspaper. It is reproduced here because it furnishes more evidence of the real aims of that wing of the Swarajist faction which is wedded to Pan-Hinduism.

"The Indian people, the Pandit declared, wanted unrestricted freedom. This aim could be attained in two ways—by negotiation or armed revolt, although any such revolt would have nothing to do with Bolshevism, which had made no headway in India. The Indian parties wished to avoid a conflict, but the danger grew with procrastination. The Pandit admitted that a period of transition must, in his opinion, precede the complete independence of India; and the Swarajists, he declared, were prepared to accept Dominion status, because it carried with it the right of complete severance from the

British Empire. The British view that India required a period of preparation before it was ripe for Dominion status was a mistaken one."

The Pandit went on to discuss and condemn the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and, when asked about Hindu-Moslem relations, said that if only the Hindus and Moslems were left alone they would get on well together and there would be no disturbances. In reply to the question how he had found the attitude towards India during his visit to England, he said:

"Bad. I have no confidence in the English. I have said so to their faces, and I shall also advise my countrymen not to trust the English. The whole Simon Commission is nothing but 'eye-wash.' All really good and important people in India will boycott it. It is very easily possible that the non-co-operation movement, which has never been extinguished, will receive a fresh stimulant."

The correspondent of the *Tageblatt*, in which the interview appeared, remarks that it must not be forgotten that the Swarajists are an extremist party, and that millions of the Pandit's countrymen are more conciliatory and perhaps have a better understanding of practical politics than he. Nevertheless, he adds, it is an evil augury that the Pandit should have left England in such a pessimistic, in fact, in his own words, "hopeless" mood.

The chances of the Hindu-Moslem accord referred to by Mr. Motilal may be gauged by the incidents recorded and by the revelation of the intentions of the Pan-Hindu leaguers to reduce Briton and Moslem to a common servitude under the dominance of the Arya Somaj; but "surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird."

CHAPTER X

THE WORKING OF THE ACT

REFERENCE has already been made to the fact that the first session of the Legislative Assembly had been carried through in a harmonious and encouraging spirit. Some controversies arose, but they were not marked by acrimony, and it really looked as if the members were taking a proper view of their responsibilities under the new system, and were bent on learning the first lessons in the art of constitutional government. But in the second session of 1923 things did not go so smoothly. Opposition to the Government proposals became more marked, criticism, expressed in numerous motions of no practical meaning, developed to the waste of public time, and the Assembly passed into a disorderly stage because there was no marked sense of the duty of subordinating personal interests to the general good of the community as well as to the regular business of the administration. While the legislative machine was thus working irregularly and with want of smoothness, impatience became increasingly manifest in the demand for further concessions and the conversion of the Legislative Assembly into a full-fledged Parliament controlling the executive. When one individual made such a demand, it was inevitable that other members, fearing to be thought backward in claiming national rights, would press forward and swell the note of

agitation. Before the new scheme had been proved capable of being worked successfully, the demand for further concessions superseded the resolution to establish the value and utility of what had been gained. This increasing desire for extensions and amplifications, urged with impatience and heat, was naturally destructive of reason and restraint. Calmness and calculation were essential to a happy conclusion, but in their place were impetuosity and passion.

Lord Reading made an attempt, when this impatience and dissatisfaction became first apparent, to steady opinion in the Assembly by recalling the fact that "the Constitution had emanated from the British Parliament, that it was in force under what might be termed a limit of time and reason, and that under certain circumstances, which he would not contemplate, it might be modified or even withdrawn." These words retain as much force as when spoken. Shortly afterwards, the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) made a statement in the House of Commons on the subject of the Indian reform measures which attracted a great deal of attention. These were his words:

"Those changes were in the nature of an experiment. They must be treated as an experiment, a great and important experiment, but still an experiment. It remains to be seen whether a system adapted to Western needs is quite suitable or not for India. . . . Whatever the success of Indians, either as Parliamentarians or administrators, I can foresee no period when they could dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants and other British officials in India.

The British Civil Servants are the steel frame of the whole structure, and I do not care what you build on, or add to, it, if you take the steel frame out the fabric will collapse."

The latter passage was intended as a stimulus to recruits for the Indian Civil Service in Britain, it being observed at that juncture that there was a marked decline in the number of eligible candidates for an Indian career. But although not intended to reflect upon them, it was the part seized upon by Indians generally to justify their indignation at what they termed a slur on themselves. The real admonition in the speech was that the reforms were an experiment, and at that moment there was much reason for thinking that it might not prove successful. Lord Reading took up the subject. The Premier's words, he said, were to be regarded as a note of solemn warning to those who, after the next election, might be inclined to pursue the deliberate policy in the Assembly of rendering it impotent and reducing administration to chaos. This warning is intended for those who may wish, not to conciliate, but to wreck the reforms. It indicates, not a change in the policy of the British Government, but the consequences of mischievous, short-sighted, and hostile action. Many of those who propose to become members of the legislature threaten to destroy it, but they seem to have overlooked the fact that, at the same time, they will destroy the reformed constitution. Lord Reading concluded his admonition with the following grave words :

" I detain you for a moment to point out that, in my judgment, there is no ground for suggesting that the word 'experiment' denotes a change of policy.

I think it requires but a very cursory study of the Reforms, including the preamble and other parts of the Statute, to realise that the plan adopted was a constitutional experiment. Is it not a perfectly legitimate use of popular language to refer to a new and hitherto untried departure as an experiment? May not every new venture by human beings be properly described as an experiment until it has achieved its object?"

If there had been any evidence that the British Government were seeking to undo its own work, then the outcry in India at the use of a simple word, a clear definition, and nothing more, might have been intelligible, but there was no such evidence. It was the beneficiaries themselves who would be the wreckers. Moreover, the supreme authority of the British Parliament was, and could, never be placed in doubt. It was in the position of the donor, and it was necessarily the judge of the time and manner of any future advance. Its judgment would mainly depend on the co-operation of the people of India in helping to work out what was generally allowed to be a difficult problem. No agreement can be one-sided. It must be observed by both parties, or it ceases to be binding. The fixed purpose on one side to obstruct and nullify the operations and intentions of the other must conclude the matter, whereupon the experiment is recognised as a failure, and the question reverts to its original position. Lord Reading summed up the situation: "If we are to secure the progress we all desire we must create the atmosphere in which it can develop. There must be respect for law and order, and support for constituted authority and for established government." Six

years have passed since those words were spoken, and, so far as one can judge by appearances, no attempt has been made to create that atmosphere or to spread the desire for harmony and agreement. It is strange, but it is sad also, and serious in its effect on our future.

Lord Reading's remarks on the general position were attributable to the first manifestation of an obstructive spirit in the Assembly for no other purpose than to embarrass the Government and hinder it in its work. This found expression in regard to a matter of no general application, and which could not be classed as a domestic concern. It might even be termed semi-external, as it related to the Indian States which have their own distinct administrations either under treaty or Sanad. In consequence of the repeal of the Press Laws in India, it was held that their rulers were entitled to the prevention by an official decree of all attempts to disseminate, by books, pamphlets, or papers, matter calculated to create disaffection or to excite disorders within their territories. The Chamber of Princes had called the Viceroy's attention to the point and claimed his intervention. The reasonableness of the request was admitted, and when it was found that the texts of the various treaties supported the request, a Bill entitled the "Princes' Protection Bill" was placed before the Assembly. The opposition to the proposed measure was so vigorous and bitter that it refused permission for the Bill even to be introduced, thus revealing the truth that the Swarajists were just as hostile to the ruling Chiefs of India as they were to the British Raj. Thereupon the Viceroy certified that the Bill was necessitated by the

obligations of existing treaties, and recommended its being passed in the form in which it was presented. It was accordingly sanctioned by the Council of State; but, despite efforts to effect a compromise with the Assembly, the assent of that body to the proposed measure had to be dispensed with. The Viceroy had consequently no other course open to him than to exercise his reserved power of certifying that "the measure was essential for the interests of British India," and it became law.

The same session witnessed the second instance of the Viceroy being placed under the necessity of exercising his reserved power of enforcing legislation by certificate. The matter in dispute was of far more general importance than that relating to the Princes, and as it related to a purely internal question it was certainly fair game for discussion and difference of opinion. But, on the other hand, it was much more than an academical question in that it represented the considered opinion of the Government as to the financial needs of the country and the best way of meeting them. A few words are necessary on this point.

The years following the conclusion of the Peace were bad for trade in India as well as other countries, and the rapid depreciation of the rupee had provided an additional cause for anxiety and irritation. Lean years meant deficits in the Budget, and deficits were attended with decline of public confidence. The strictest economy in all the spending departments were enjoined by Lord Inchcape's special Commission, but that affected only one side of the State balance sheet. On the other side there was an insufficient revenue, and it was agreed in all

circles that the gap must be filled up. But how? That was the question.

The deficit for the year 1922-1923 had been over 6,000,000 sterling. It was computed that with the existing taxation the deficit for the following year would be at least £4,000,000. There had been a sequence of deficits over five years, totalling altogether over 66,000,000 sterling, and the time had come when this downward course had to be arrested. There was only one certain way immediately available to balance the Budget, and that was by doubling the salt tax. The proposal formed the staple feature in Sir Basil Blackett's Budget proposals for 1923-1924. Lest the proposal might seem more terrible in the imagination than it was in the reality, it may be mentioned that the existing tax was a farthing in the pound, and it was intended to increase it to a halfpenny. It is a curious fact that a salt tax has never been popular in any country, although it has been generally enforced from time immemorial, and it would, on the face of things, seem to be one of the most legitimate objects of State levy. The unpopularity may be attributed more to the tradition of the abuses perpetrated by the farmers and collectors than to any great evil in the tax itself.

The consideration of the Budget gave rise to heated debates in the Assembly, and an insuperable opposition was raised to the increase of the salt tax. Various alternatives, some of a purely fanciful nature, were suggested; but for none of them was there any solid and unqualified support. There was, however, a more fatal objection. Not one or any number of them would have provided the Govern-

ment with the £4,000,000 necessary to balance the Budget, and that was the only object before the Administration. If it was imperative to put an end to the recurrence of deficits, and no one could dispute that it was, then the Government could only resort to the one sure method of reaching that end. Any alternatives that proved unsubstantial and illusory would only have made matters worse and produced a state of financial chaos. There has never been a clearer demonstration of the difference between theory and practice. The obstructive members of the Assembly stood for the former, the responsible administrators of the country for the latter. The Assembly refused to pass the Budget, and even after the Council of State had done so it refused a second time. There remained no alternative, if the business of the country was to go on, to the Viceroy again exercising his reserved power by issuing his certificate. It was certainly discouraging and unfortunate that the Viceroy should be obliged on two distinct occasions in the same Session to have resort to the powers vested in him by the Constitution for use on very special emergencies. To complete the record of these transactions it is only necessary to add that the increase of the salt duty did effect the object aimed at by balancing the Budget and thus removing the stigma of a deficit which had prevailed over a long series of years.

The following semi-official comment on these and other incidents, taken from "The Moral and Material Progress Report," sums up the position with approximate accuracy: "Indignation meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which

members of the Legislature emphatically voiced their disappointment at the attitude of the Government and their fear lest, after all, the reforms might be a delusion. These sentiments found little echo among the masses, and it seems likely that those who believed the enhanced impost on salt would constitute a messenger of revolution had failed to reckon with the widened margin of subsistence between falling prices and steady wages. It is not difficult, of course, in answer to the fears of members of the Assembly, to point to the substantial achievements of the new Constitution, achievements far too solid to result from anything which could be called a 'sham.' The mere fact that the Legislature has succeeded within two years in repealing the Press Acts and many repressive laws, in altering the fiscal policy, *in removing racial distinctions in criminal* trials, in securing effective retrenchment, in opening the way for the nationalisation of the railways, for the Indianisation of the Army, and for the creation of a Territorial Force, is a sufficient answer to those who still exhibit mistrust of the intentions of Great Britain. At the same time it is easy to understand the feelings of the majority of the elected members of the Assembly when they perceived that their solid opposition to the salt tax was outweighed by purely administrative considerations. That a Session so full of achievement should have terminated in a rupture of the harmony between Government and the Legislature must be a cause of sincere regret; but such an occurrence may be fairly regarded as a not unnatural concomitant of the present transitional policy, wherein the central Legislature has great voting power but no final responsibility, so that the

executive may at any time be driven back upon the exceptional provisions inserted in the Constitution for the prevention of deadlocks."

This year's official exposition is defective in one particular. The British Government, being a foreign administration dependent on the support of the nominated members in the Legislative Assembly, must always be in a minority therein when it comes to controversial questions, but it remains alone responsible for the administration. It has an imperative need, if its work is to be discharged, for the extraneous support vested in the Viceroy's reserved prerogative of superior intervention on the occurrence of any emergency. The experience of the subsequent Session provided additional proof of the need of such a safeguard.

The increase in the salt duty had given rise to no popular clamour. The agitators had assumed that it would provide them with the means of producing a revolution, one of the big words they like to apply to riots and local disturbances. On the presentation of the Budget for 1924-1925 the Finance Minister proposed to reduce the salt tax from 2·80 to 2 rupees per maund. Although the finances had recovered, it seemed premature to regard this state of things as assured, and, moreover, it was very desirable to reduce the contributions from the provincial Governments so that they might have more funds available for local requirements. This desirability was a matter of common knowledge, but unfortunately it had no weight with the Central Assembly. On the presentation of the Budget in April, 1924, the Nationalist party, which possessed a small but sufficient

majority in the House, refused to consider its proposals. On the demand for grants, the majority threw out the first four items, including those of Customs and income tax. They refused, further, to permit the introduction of the Finance Bill, again registering their protest on considerations of general policy rather than on any view of the merits or demerits of the measure itself. As all administrations must depend for their existence on the passage into law of their financial proposals, the inevitable consequence, if this decision of the Assembly had been wholly uncontrolled, would have been the suspension of the machinery of government. Under these circumstances the Viceroy had to intervene and to certify the Budget in the minimum form the circumstances of the moment permitted. By this arrangement the salt tax was reduced to its former rate of 1·40 rupees per maund, but the contributions required from the provinces had to be maintained. As the Finance Minister said, "this decision will be regarded as a message of despair to all who are looking to expenditure, whether by the central Government or by the provincial Governments, for the amelioration of conditions of life and for improved educational and sanitary services throughout India." In other words, the effect of this obstruction was far-reaching, and many beneficial projects had to be hung up indefinitely. As indicative of the prevalent views in the Assembly, it was discouraging, for it revealed no sort of appreciation for the great improvement that had been effected in the financial position of the country by the Budget of the previous year.

It would be an omission not to give the salient

passages from the statement issued by Lord Reading after this disappointing decision came within his knowledge:

"1. When the Budget for the year 1924-1925 was introduced in the Legislative Assembly the Finance Member was authorised by me to announce that, as our anticipations for the coming year indicated a Budget which would balance on the present basis of taxation, and with the salt tax reduced to the former level of 1·4 rupees per maund, the choice between that and any higher rate would be left to the Assembly. At the same time my Government, with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State, made their view clear that a higher rate of salt duty at 2 rupees per maund would be in the best interests of the country, since it would enable a commencement to be made with the reduction of the provincial contributions in four provinces, and would thereby secure increased provision for such objects as education, public health, and industry, the furtherance of which is our anxious concern.

"2. When the demands for grants under the different heads of expenditure were laid before the Assembly, that House saw fit to reject, without any examination of the expenditure on its merits, and for reasons extraneous to the Budget, the demands for the Customs, Income Tax, Salt, and Opium Departments, four of the main revenue earning departments of Government. These four demands, on the retention of which the revenue of these important departments necessarily depended, were later on restored by my Government, acting in accordance with the powers conferred upon them by the Act. . . .

"3. The position which resulted from the action of the Assembly, therefore, was that when the Finance Bill providing for the means of meeting the expenditure which it had already voted came before the Assembly the Bill was rejected without consideration. The Finance Bill prescribes the rates at which taxation shall be levied under several of the most important revenue heads, including the salt duty, postage, and income tax, and the legislative sanction given by the Finance Act of the preceding year for the collection of taxation under these heads would have expired on March 31, 1924. In these circumstances it was my obvious duty to take such action as was essential for the interests of British India in order to enable the administration of the country to be carried on and to provide sufficient funds to enable the Government of India's Budget for the coming year to be balanced. It was with this sole object in view that I recommended to the Assembly the Finance Bill in a modified form, containing only such provisions as were essential for the purpose above mentioned. . . . This Bill, with my recommendation, was presented to the Legislative Assembly, but leave to introduce it was refused. It was thereupon laid before the Council of State with a certificate by me that the provisions of the Bill were essential for the interests of British India, and was passed by the Council without amendment. To this Bill as consented to by that Chamber I have signified my assent."

Lord Reading then expressed his regret that the Legislative Assembly, to whom important responsibilities are entrusted, should have failed for a second time to consider the financial proposals of the

Government on their merits. The only explanation that could be given of this wanton and persistent obstruction of the essential measures of the Government, with its personal affront to the Viceroy, was that it was intended, in the first place, to humiliate the Administration, and, in the second, to enable the Swarajists to proclaim that the exercise of the reserved power showed that the old autocracy existed. At this period the view had been disseminated in India that the advent of a Labour Ministry to power signified that they had only to ask for wholesale concessions from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to have them granted, forgetting that, whoever may exercise the nominal authority, there are fundamental duties which no Government can shirk, and of these not the least important is that of keeping an orderly Budget. The extremists in the Assembly were dealing what would have been a fatal blow, if their power had equalled their will, to any Government and to the existence of the State which it represented.

In plain words, it had been made clear that the Assembly had but one object, and that was, within the limits of its opportunities, to show on every occasion its inveterate hostility to the British Government. It took the favour of the Constitution at its hands, but it repudiated the idea of gratitude. What was given was alleged to be granted by the fears or nervousness for their own safety of the grantors. The valiant Bengalis were waving Wamba's sword, and the descendants of Clive and Wellesley were alleged to be shaking in their shoes. And if at the very beginning the Assembly had been erratic in its procedure and irrational in its conclu-

sions, it was not likely that, after the full-blown Swadojists received permission quite unexpectedly to enter the House which Mr. Gandhi had begun by boycotting, matters would improve. They did not bring with them a gust of health-giving ozone, but a permeating monsoon of hostile and relentless antipathy. The fruits may be found in the refusal to allow the introduction of the Reserve Bank Bill, whence there was no alternative to the Government but to order its withdrawal, thus registering one more instance of the fact that the Assembly was bent on wrecking any measure that bore the stamp of official sanction.

But there was one wide field of social reform that these declared Nationalists, hostile to everything that bore the name of British, although to that source they owed the right of articulation and expression which they exercised for the first time in the whole course of India's history, never attempted to explore. These were the terrible revelations on the subject of women's sufferings in the remarkable work by the American lady, entitled "Mother India." They were enough to incite any social reformers to action, and more than enough to those who knew that they were under and not over the truth. She may have made some slips in minor details, but the truth of this great running sore, this plague-spot of Hindu religion and life, is worse than she had any opportunity of knowing and revealing. She spoke of a few hospitals and infirmaries; the evil lies in every Hindu household. The Khillats conceal their own domestic tragedies. Listen, not to what Miss Mayo has to say, but to the words of a rani of India in a letter to *The Times*:

"A letter written by Mrs. Ameer Ali to *The Times* has been brought to my notice. She says that it is no part of the Commission to inquire into Indian life 'hidden behind the veil.' Would it not have been nearer the truth had she said: 'Is it any part of a Commission of inquiry to remove the sticking-plaster composed of the gold of bribery and corruption in order to expose the cancer underneath'?

"Again, she says: 'Indian women are not voiceless.' I am an Indian rani who has endured years of misery behind the purdah, and I know what I am talking about when I tell the British public that, as things stand at present, we women are voiceless. Suppose, for instance, that a rani were with her own eyes to see her child poisoned? Could she insist upon a *post-mortem?* Would her voice of agonised sorrow at the deed ever penetrate beyond the purdah? It would not. Again, she says: 'The Government and residents of India are alive to the delicacy of inquisitorial methods.' Nine-tenths of the British residents of India are living in apathetic indifference and ignorance of life behind the purdah, and are never in touch with it; nor do they know anything at all about it. As regards the Government, with all due respect I would ask you what difference a woman's or a child's life more or less would make to it? It might perhaps express its 'regret' at some untoward incident, and there the matter would end.

"What we need is a Central Women's Bureau composed of both Indian and British social workers, with branches both in India and England, and women legal members, who by every means at their

disposal would investigate individual cases brought to their notice. Far from an unhealthy and apathetic 'sensitiveness,' they should not hesitate to use moral sanitation any more than they would hesitate to work for the cause of physical well-being outside the purdah. It is possible that hitherto suppressed knowledge might be gained through those who have worked in zenanas, but few of these know the secrets of Indian States."

There has been a movement to raise the marriage age by legislation, and in a few reforming States—for instance, that of Kashmir—the ruler, without the aid of a Legislative Assembly, has passed a law to raise the limits for both sexes. But wherever the authority of a Legislative Assembly or Council has intervened the opponents of reform have found means to hinder the progress of beneficial measures for the security of girls and the prevention of cruelty to suffering children. The following protest from the Marwari Association of Calcutta to the proposed Bill is a strong case in point :

"The Association lays stress on the unfitness of Legislatures to undertake legislation on social and religious questions. As social customs in the Hindu community are all based on religion, says the Association, the community naturally feels shocked when such irreligious laws are thrust upon it. The Association considers that the Bill is bound to wound the religious susceptibilities of orthodox Hindus and to get members of the community into trouble for no fault other than that of performing child-marriages according to the teachings of their religion. Finally, the Association asks the Government to refuse to put the Bill on the Statute Book."

From this it appears that Legislatures in India are only commendable when they attack or thwart the British Government, but when they attempt social reforms in their own communities they are classed as "unfit." The Marwari Association, it may be mentioned, represents the moneylenders of India ! From either charge, as torturers of children or as usurers extracting the life-blood from their fellow-citizens in compound interest, the Moslems of India, thank God, are free.

If the candid opinion of any honest and disinterested observer were asked as to how the India Act of 1919 had worked in practice, he would feel obliged to give a very guarded opinion. In some respects he might be led to declare that if the members of the Legislature, both in the Central Assembly and in the Provincial Councils, were to display greater moderation and more regard for the rules of all deliberative bodies, the institution might before long fulfil some of the duties expected of it. But this view would be qualified by the condition that its members should be animated by higher feelings than a blind desire to harass the Government and by complete independence from the influences of outside intriguers who do not wish the reforms to prove successful because, when they do, their rôle will be over.

The clearest and most unequivocal opinion that has yet been expressed on the point is that of the Maharaja of Benares, who by his descent and position is in the first rank of Hindu princes. Speaking at a banquet in honour of the present Viceroy, Lord Irwin, he began by styling the reforms as "that fateful announcement of the year 1917,

which anticipated the state of things by at least half a century," continuing thus: "It was an attempt to build a twentieth-century Constitution on the materials of the Middle Ages. The Constitution thus framed was not the result of a natural evolution from within, but was imposed from without. It is, therefore, not strange that it did not prove as successful as was anticipated.

"The British Government, in its eagerness to fulfil its promise to the Indian people at as early a date as possible, quite overlooked the wholesome maxim of *Festina lente*, and brought about changes in the administrative machinery of India with a rapidity which savoured almost of a revolution, and gave a rude shock to the long-established and well-tried system of government in the country.

"The policy, of course, in its magnanimity has no parallel in the history of the world. But a goal, however admirable or desirable it may be, must be reached by stages. In dealing with Indian questions we must not forget this most vital point—that India cannot do without English protection for centuries to come. We are hopelessly divided, and no amount of artificial adhesive can bring about that natural union which is essential for the well-being of a nation. This union must be the result of mutual understanding and of the sacrifice of individual interests for those of the community.

"Democracy *per se* is not the panacea of all evils. The affairs in Italy, Greece, and Spain at the present day bear eloquent testimony to this fact. In India this problem has become more complicated by the presence of more than 600 native States enjoying various degrees of independence, to whose

protection and maintenance of integrity the faith of the British Government is no less solemnly pledged than for the well-being of British India. No Constitution framed for the government of this country which does not take into account the existence of these States will be worth a moment's consideration.

"The interest of Indian rulers is indissolubly bound up with that of the British power. They stand or fall together. They are bound to be unshakably loyal to the Crown in their own interest, if not for higher motives. The friends of the British Government are their friends, and its enemies their enemies."

In India it is, perhaps, necessary to be a maharaja to display courage of this high order.

CHAPTER XI

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION

ON November 7, 1927, the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, announced in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to anticipate the date—viz., December, 1929—fixed in the Act for the appointment of a Statutory Commission to inquire into the working of the Indian Constitution set up by the India Act of 1919, and to consider the desirability of establishing, extending, modifying, or restricting the degree of responsible government then existing there. These were the Prime Minister's words, but, as they made no reference to the important matter of "the growth of education," it is, perhaps, advisable to reproduce the exact text of the section of the Act forecasting the appointment of such a Commission :

"1. At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purposes of this section.

"2. The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith, and

the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify, or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable.

"3. The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the Provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

When the names of the Commissioners were announced, it was at once made a grievance in India that no Indian was included among them, and the volume of indignation fomented by those who wished to wreck the Commission swelled until nothing short of a general boycott of the whole undertaking was demanded. In an excited mood it is rare for one individual, and still more for a mass of individuals, to display sufficient restraint to examine the facts of a case carefully and to discover the exact purport of the arrangement that is so recklessly denounced. In the first place, confining ourselves to facts, let it be stated that there was nothing in the original Act to justify the view that it was ever intended that the Statutory Commission was to be anything else than a Parliamentary body, or, to be more explicit, one representative of the British Parliament seated in the capital of the Empire. It is also necessary to remember that the Act itself was the embodiment of the Chelmsford-Montagu Report, which was drafted without the co-operation of any Indian. The procedure then was in full accordance with the facts, for the reforms

were sanctioned by the British Legislature and were intended to be a gift to India. When a gift is presented the recipient is not consulted. It represents the best or the most that the donor wishes to do. When calm returns and the position comes to be envisaged without passion, it will be seen that the constitution of the Commission was entirely in order, that, being representative of the British Legislature, it would have been an impossible innovation to have included an Indian outside that Legislature among its members, and that in all this there was nothing in the way of a slight or affront to India or any Indians. Of course, if there had been an Indian member of the House of Commons of adequate standing and experience, it might have been alleged that not to include him on the Commission was a defect in its composition and implied a slight to India. But surely no one would go so far as to say that Mr Saklatvala was in any way qualified for such a responsible position.

Moreover, there was the express sanction of the King-Emperor to the arrangement in the Speech from the Throne on December 22, 1927, on the Prorogation of Parliament. As the matter of imaginary affronts and slights is given so much prominence, surely never was a more inexcusable affront offered to a great and beneficent Sovereign than the reception accorded in India to the gracious message of goodwill and hope in which the King-Emperor conveyed his approbation of the Royal Commission appointed in his name:

"My Government having decided that the time is ripe for the initiation of the inquiry into the working of the system of government in India for which

the law provides, I have, with the concurrence of both your Houses, issued a Commission to seven of your number, who will shortly embark upon their momentous task. I earnestly trust that their labours may be crowned with success, and that from their counsels may emerge a system of government which shall give contentment to the peoples of India and strengthen the bonds that unite my Empire."

The Prime Minister's statement contained much more than the announcement of the appointment of a Commission. A Royal Commission is responsible to the Sovereign, and its value would be diminished if it had to limit the scope of its investigation and work by the orders of the Cabinet, but, at least, that body has the right to give its own opinion as to the best methods of obtaining the desired information upon which, when the time arrives for further legislation, if any, its decision must be founded. As far as can be judged by the expressions of opinion in India, this part of Mr. Baldwin's statement has received no attention. It requires very careful examination :

"Balancing the various considerations and endeavouring to give due weight to each, His Majesty's Government have decided upon the following procedure :

"(*a*) They propose to recommend to His Majesty that the Statutory Commission should be composed as follows—

"The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, K.C.V.O., K.C. (Chairman), and six members, including two Peers of the Realm.

"These names will be submitted to both Houses in resolutions.

"(*b*) His Majesty's Government cannot, of

course, dictate to the Commission what procedure it shall follow, but they are of opinion that its task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Indian Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. The Committee might remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at subsequent stages of the inquiry. It should be clearly understood that the purpose of this suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses.

"(*c*) His Majesty's Government suggest that a similar procedure should be adopted with the Provincial Legislatures.

"(*d*) The vast area to be covered may make it desirable that the task of taking evidence on the more purely administrative questions involved should be undertaken by some other authority which would be in the closest touch with the Commission. His Majesty's Government suggest that the Commission on arrival in India should consider and decide by what machinery this work may most appropriately be discharged. This will not, of course, debar the Commission from the advantage of taking evidence itself upon these subjects to whatever extent it may think desirable.

"(*e*) When the Commission has reported, and its report has been examined by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, it will be the duty of the latter to present proposals to Parlia-

ment. But it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to adopt those proposals without first giving a full opportunity for Indian opinion of different schools to contribute its view upon them. And to this end it is intended to invite Parliament to refer these proposals to consideration by a Joint Committee of both Houses and to facilitate the presentation to that Committee both of the views of the Indian Central Legislature by delegations, who will be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee, and also of the views of any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult."

These recommendations show that the Government included in the programme that the Commission was likely to adopt the receipt of evidence from all responsible persons in India as to what was desired by the several communities. The Commission was not to arrive at its conclusions by its own impulse and preconceptions. It was to listen to all sides, and on what it learnt and heard it was to formulate conclusions for the final decision of the Cabinet. There was to be (1) an invitation to the Indian Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee to draw up its views and proposals in writing and to lay them before the Commission for examination. This Committee was to remain in being for any consultations which the Commission might desire to hold at subsequent stages of their inquiry. (2) A similar procedure was to be followed with the Provincial Legislatures. (3) Evidence was to be taken by other authorities expressly delegated for the purpose. Finally, the proposals of the Cabinet, after the Commission's report had been made and duly considered,

were to be submitted as a Bill to the two Houses of Parliament. The British Legislature, as the donor, was to sit in judgment on whatever scheme might be proposed. This arrangement would only be deviated from if the Cabinet were to come to the conclusion that the only statesmanlike course was to leave the situation unchanged. The course of subsequent events now seems calculated to render such a negative result not impossible.

The appointment of the Commission having been announced, the next question to be considered was what would be its reception in India. It went almost without saying that the Swarajists would reveal implacable hostility, and declare that nothing short of full Dominion status at one step would satisfy them. As their only argument they fastened on the point that the Commission was purely British and that consequently India was slighted by the absence of Indian representatives. On that point there is nothing more to be said here. The agitation during the two months prior to the arrival of Sir John Simon and his colleagues became noisier and noisier. Nothing but a *hartal,* or a day of mourning, and a general boycott of the Commission and its work would give adequate expression to the resistance and indignation of the Hindus. The *hartal* idea was soon discovered to be impracticable, but in Calcutta the proposal of a boycott found favour to the extent, at least, of restricting it to British goods. The Hindu Mayor of Calcutta, Mr. Sen Gupta, published the following indictment of the Commission and of the British Government, from which it would have been imagined that it was intent on playing the part of a tyrant and not that of the reformer and liberator.

Perhaps there are still some Bengalis left who may prefer their present silken chains to the iron ones of some of their old rulers.

"In view of the fact that both the Government here and in England show no signs of relenting in regard to the outrage committed on India's national self-respect by the appointment of the Simon Commission, and, on the contrary, strenuous efforts are being made by the authorities in different Provinces to demoralise the people, the time has come when further steps should be taken to assert the national will. It has, therefore, been resolved to proclaim a general boycott of British goods immediately, concentrating on a boycott of British cloth, as a protest against this outrage. And as the members of the Commission are advertised to arrive in Calcutta on February 20, on their way to Madras, it has been decided to organise mass demonstrations on that day with a view to proclaiming this boycott."

The opposition and hostility of the Hindus had been more or less assumed as inevitable, but an optimistic view prevailed that the Moslems would act very differently and give the Commission a fair hearing. The earlier expressions of opinion encouraged this expectation. For instance, there was much enthusiasm at the public meeting of the Poona Moslems on November 27, 1927, at which the Moslem attitude towards the Statutory Commission was discussed. In spite of slight opposition, the meeting passed a resolution urging full co-operation.

Speakers at the meeting, which was fully representative, said that a boycott would be foolish, because it would lose for them the right of showing what their needs were as well as of demonstrating

appreciation for what the Government had done for Moslems and other minorities. The Commission was undoubtedly coming to do good, and co-operation with it was the speediest way to the goal of home rule within the Empire. Comment was made on the silence of some well-known Moslems who had not then expressed any opinion ; this silence was thought to indicate that none of them was in favour of a boycott and that the Bombay Presidency Moslems were, therefore, practically solid behind the Government in this matter.

In Bombay itself the leading Moslems awaited the arrival of the Aga Khan, who was expected early in December on one of his annual visits. His views were given with great candour against the proposed boycott and in favour of influencing the Commission by argument and a reasonable attitude. Co-operation, and not obstruction, seemed to him the true line. He then expressed a strong desire to do all in his power to unite the community and lead it along the path of sobriety and prudence. Though he was anxious not to commit himself to any statement before he had acquainted himself fully with the political situation in India, the Aga Khan did not disguise the fact that he entertained the gravest misgivings as to the consequences of the boycott movement.

Referring to the non-co-operation movement of 1921, the Aga Khan said : "The last time a boycott came in, the Liberals got their chance. If the Liberals stand out now, a handful of reactionaries will have their say before the Commission, excluding both the Liberals and the extremists, whose case will fail by default." His sole object, he said, was

to try to unite all the conflicting elements in the community. "I cannot possibly join any faction. My object is not to join a faction, but to try to bring about union of the various schools of thought."

After saying that the future of the separate electorates was a matter for those electorates themselves to decide, the Aga Khan said that he did not mean that he was interested only in Moslems. He said: "I am moved only by love for India. The whole country is divided, and while these divisions last progress is impossible."

Three weeks later the Aga Khan issued a manifesto addressed to all Indian Moslems.

In the course of the manifesto, after emphasising the importance of settling the question of their relations towards the Hindus and of reforming the political organisation of Moslems to meet the change in political conditions, he made an appeal to the elected Moslem representatives in the Legislatures, in whose hands is all real political power.

He then suggested that Moslems should constitute a permanent Moslem governing body, which would direct the community's political activity and be in a position to speak with authority and enter into binding compacts both with their Hindu fellow-countrymen and the British Government. He is of opinion that the absence of such an organised body, with binding force on the masses, is the "reason for the failure of all efforts of the Viceroy and others to lay a solid foundation for mutual understanding and confidence and inter-communal peace."

The Aga Khan added that he mentioned the British Government as well as the Hindus, because "the British will be in India as long as we can see,

and cannot be spirited away merely by being ignored."

Finally, His Highness laid stress on the need for such a new and fully representative body when the Constitution was in the melting-pot, and when such questions as a truly national army are in the front rank of problems associated with constitutional growth. Before real Home Rule is possible, India must be in a position to undertake her own defence through her own sons.

Other Mahomedan leaders—Sir Muhammud Shafi, Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Sir Abdur Rahim, all spoke in the same sense that it was folly to obstruct, much more to attempt to boycott the Royal Commission, and that every legitimate means should be taken to bring the case of the Indian Moslems under its notice and consideration.

Meanwhile, the Swarajists and all the other Hindu extremists were loudly professing their determination to boycott the Commission, and to have nothing to do with its members. Some of them went farther in their vociferous denunciation by declaring that the Commission had been appointed by a Ministry which was certain to be superseded by a Labour Government at the approaching General Election, and that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald would reverse what Mr. Baldwin had done. Mr. MacDonald, having heard of this statement, telegraphed as follows to Mr. Victor Hartshorn, the Labour member serving on the Commission :

"It is reported here that if your Commission were successfully obstructed, a Labour Government would appoint a new Commission on another and non-Parliamentary basis. As you know, the pro-

cedure now being followed has the full confidence of the Labour Party, and no change in the Commission would be made."

Lord Birkenhead took occasion to pay his tribute to Mr. MacDonald's patriotism in his speech at Doncaster, February 16th:

"I am bound to make it plain that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has, from the first, with a big and patriotic realisation of his responsibilities as leader of the principal Opposition, carried out what he conceived to be his duty, never hesitating the moment he realised where his judgment of that duty carried him. All the responsible leaders of the Labour Party have taken the same course, and we have had it confirmed from the lips of Mr. MacDonald himself that not only is a Parliamentary Commission the only machinery which is applicable to the solution of this particular problem, but that if the Labour Party were returned to-morrow, India would still find itself confronted by a Parliamentary Commission."

Forthwith the Hindu journalists deposed Mr. MacDonald from the pedestal on which they had placed him. He was no longer their man, and, as I suggested earlier in these pages, they must now turn to Moscow.

But they reckoned without Mr. MacDonald's power of scathing rejoinder. They did not expect to be gibbeted for "complex inferiority!"

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in a letter to the *Indian*, replying to their comments on his attitude to the India Commission, said:

"The thing that I fail to see in the attitude now being taken up by Indian leaders is that divine quality of self-respect.

"Analyse their attitude psychologically and you will find it to be nothing more than a manifestation of the inferiority complex. It is small not large, narrow not broad, shallow, neither deep nor high.

"If they would only sit down, forget their nervous speeches, and look at realities, they would rise from their deliberations aware of the profound mistake they have made in deciding on that most futile of all policies—the policy of boycott.

"Before the Parliamentary Commission was a couple of months in India they would find a way of manly and independent co-operation exercised in the interests of their motherland."

Here are samples of their effusions:

Forward says: "Lord Birkenhead may fret, fume, and boil, but India will stick to the boycott." The same newspaper denounces the British Labour party, "from the pseudo-Socialist MacDonald to that stage-thunderer Lansbury."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says: "We cannot conceive that the Indian Legislatures will be prepared to waste time and energy appointing committees to associate with the British jurors, before whom the Indian nation is called to plead."

The *Bengalee,* which has hitherto expressed a liberal view, now declares that the "only kind of Constitution which Indians can approve is one framed by themselves. They repudiate with scorn offers of friendship, protestations of equality, and appeals to co-operate made and uttered in the same breath in which the fundamental rights of Indians as human beings are denied."

On the same day that the Royal Commissioners landed at Bombay the Viceroy opened the new

session of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature at Delhi. It was significant of the obstinate mood in which the Swarajist members approached the discussion of a great question affecting, perhaps vitally, the future of their country, that the great majority of that section (47 in number) should have absented themselves on that occasion. When men have a bad case they close their ears to argument, they show no patience with sound reasoning, and have no heart for moderation. It would be hoping too much to say that if they had attended some might have been influenced by the cogency of Lord Irwin's argument and by the clearness of his exposition of the facts. Their organisers avoided this risk by arranging for their absence. But, although they did not hear Lord Irwin's words, time may show them to have a wide repercussion, and to prevail in the hearts and minds of millions outside the Delhi chamber :

"The other main point to which I invite attention is the statement, which has been widely and repeatedly made, that His Majesty's Government have deliberately offered an affront to India by the exclusion of Indians from the *personnel* of the Commission. I have said enough to make it plain why I do not think it reasonable for any Indian to feel he or his country has been slighted by the decision of His Majesty's Government. The relative merits of the various methods of associating India with this business are, as I have said, matters on which opinion may legitimately be divided ; but to go farther and say His Majesty's Government have deliberately intended an affront to Indian feeling is a very much more serious charge to make, and the

first duty of those who make it is to satisfy themselves that it is well founded.

"Let me make it very plain that I expect Indians, as I would myself, to be sensitive of their honour. None, whether individuals or nations, can afford to be otherwise, for honour and self-respect lie at the foundation of all social life. But honour and self-respect are not enhanced by creating affronts in our imagination where none, in fact, exists, for the essence of any such offence, as of rudeness in private life, lies in the intention behind the act, and no reasonable person would dream of blaming the conduct of another where intention of discourtesy was lacking.

"In the present case, British statesmen of all parties have stated in terms admitting of no misconception that the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission was in no way intended as an affront to India. Time and again this assertion has been repeated, and I would ask, in all sincerity, by what right do the leaders of Indian opinion, who are as jealous as I am of their own good faith and would resent as sharply as I any refusal to believe their word, impugn the good faith and disbelieve the plain word of others? I would deny to no man the right to state freely and frankly his honest opinion, to condemn, if he wishes, the action of His Majesty's Government in this regard, or to say that they acted unwisely, or in misapprehension of the true feeling that exists in India. That, again, is a matter of opinion; but what no man is entitled to say—for it is quite simply not true—is that His Majesty's Government have sought to offer deliberate affront to Indian honour and Indian pride.

"I have thought it right to speak plainly on these misunderstandings, because they have been widely represented as a justification of some, at any rate, of the counsels which urge Indians to abstain from all part or lot in the inquiry now to be set on foot. I feel, at the same time, a profound and growing conviction that those who would argue that such abstention will do no harm to the cause of India are dangerously deluding themselves and others. There are, of course, some who would wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be the tribunal in this cause, but, as I have said more than once, however much I may respect many of those who take this view, I do not pretend to be able to reconcile it with the actual situation which we to-day have to consider. I have, during the time I have been in India, been careful to avoid saying anything that might magnify differences that must inevitably exist, and have never invited any man to forego principles to which he felt in conscience bound to subscribe; but let nobody suppose he is assisting the realisation of his ideals by reluctance to look on facts as they are.

"It is in no spirit of argument, or lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations, that I repeat that India, if she desires to secure Parliamentary approval to political change, must persuade Parliament that such a change is wisely conceived and likely to benefit those affected by it. She has now an opportunity of making her persuasion felt through the means of a Commission statutorily established. This Commission has been established with the assent and co-operation of all the British parties. They will carry through their inquiry with, it is hoped, the generous assistance of all shades of Indian opinion;

but, whether such assistance is offered or withheld, the inquiry will proceed, and a report will be presented to Parliament, on which Parliament will take whatever action it deems appropriate.

"Anyone who has been able to read the full report of the debates in Parliament on the motion to appoint the Commission must have been impressed by the evidence of spontaneous goodwill towards India with which the speeches of the responsible spokesmen of all parties were instinct. This goodwill would naturally be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament towards these questions, and I would very earnestly hope it might not be lightly cast aside ; and yet it is certain that an agitation, fostered and promoted by methods which have led to grave occurrences in the past, is bound to breed serious misgivings in the mind of the British Parliament, with whom at present lies the final decision in Indian political affairs. What, then, in India or Great Britain, is to be gained by a policy of boycott ? Neither I, nor anyone else, can predict the effect upon the Commission's report, or, later, upon the mind of Parliament, if many of those who claim to speak for India decide at every stage to stand wholly aloof from the task in which Parliament has solicited their assistance and collaboration.

"It is clearly possible for people to stand aside and withhold their contribution, just as it will be possible for the Commission to prosecute its inquiry and, with the assistance at its disposal, to reach conclusions in spite of such abstention, but, at least, it would seem certain that such an attitude must interpose yet further obstacles to the discovery of that

more excellent way of mutual understanding which the best friends of India, of every race, well know to be requisite for her orderly evolution to nationhood. And, meanwhile, in order to mobilise national resentment at an alleged deliberate affront that has never been more than the fiction of men's imaginations, an appeal will have been made, under the guise of vindicating national self-respect—which there has been no attempt to impair—to all the lowest and worst elements of suspicion, bitterness, and hostility. Those were wise words of one of India's most distinguished sons a few weeks ago which repeated the lesson, taught more than once of recent years, that it is easier to arouse than to allay such forces."

The closing scenes of what may be called the first act of the process took place on February 18, when the Government was defeated by a majority of six votes. If numbers prevailed, the weight and reasoning power of the Assembly was wholly on the side of co-operation with the Commission. The leaders of several minorities were unanimously in favour of that course. Dr. Abdullah Suhrawardy, Central Moslem Party, representative of the Bengal Moslems, answering an invitation to negotiate with the Hindus for communities' interests rather than with the Government, said he had ceased to be a non-co-operator because Moslems found that negotiations with Hindus were hopelessly unfruitful. He bitterly criticised Mr. Jinnah for having assisted to fool Moslems into the Lucknow pact.

Mr. M. C. Raja, for the Depressed Classes, Colonel Gidney, for the Anglo-Indian community, and Mr. Chatterjee, for Indian Christians, declared

their confidence in and reliance upon the Commission. Important class speeches, on various grounds, were directly against abrupt refusal to co-operate with the Commission. Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, pleading his lifelong service for India as his justification, warned the House that history would condemn them for their lack of statesmanship in face of difficulties. Mr. K. C. Roy urged that further attempts should be made to clear up obvious misunderstandings. Colonel Crawford, of the European unofficial group, as a soldier through the war, told the House that he trembled at the thought of the horrors into which the land might be thrown by such propaganda as he had heard in the debate.

The sad and disappointing feature of the voting was that fourteen elected Moslems voted with the Hindu Swarajists in favour of the boycott. Of that number thirteen came from provinces where the Mahomedans are in a minority, and, consequently, subject more or less to the control and interference of the Hindus. It was well known beforehand that there would be some defections from the solid phalanx of Moslem agreement, but the number was larger than expected. Had only four of this band responded to the appeal to the heart and the head, the Government would have been saved from a reverse, the Assembly from slighting the King-Emperor and the British Parliament, and the Moslem community from the stigma of having co-operated with those whose only aim is to destroy and enslave them. Before the curtain is finally rung down, some opportunity may arise to repair this fault, and to prove that the Moslems are not so

prejudiced as to close their minds to reason and moderation.

Before the adverse vote was recorded, and, indeed, immediately after landing in India, Sir John Simon, speaking for the Commission, had made a notable statement inviting the co-operation of the various legislative bodies in the execution of their heavy task. Their co-operation was cordially invited, and not repelled, as was inferred by the Swaraj extremists in their representation that Indian opinion had been ignored, and was to be excluded. Any impartial, or well-disposed body, would have welcomed this suggestion, and heartily associated itself with the undertaking, but the extremists saw well enough that to comply would be to contribute towards the success of the Commission, which they had vowed to wreck and nullify. They closed their ears to the chairman's proposals. They would not give them the least consideration. Their speeches and attitude in the Chamber revealed the full extent of their animosity, and their implacable desire not to benefit their country, but to expel the British and to put an end to their Raj. Conciliation and concord were far from their thoughts. They hungered after discord and confusion, culminating in anarchy and ruin.

But there are others in India besides the followers of Pundit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Kitchlew, and there is already abundant evidence to show that Sir John Simon's proposal for a "Joint Free Conference" has not failed to receive very considerable and constantly increasing support among reasonable men in the different communities.

It is as well to state here the pith of this proposal.

The two Houses of the Central Legislature, and also each local Legislative Council, were to be invited to choose separate committees, composed of a limited number, for the purpose of co-operating with the Commission, and bringing before it the views and desires of the several constituencies. As Sir John emphasised, the Commission is "not authorised to pronounce decisions about the future of the government of India." It is "only authorised *to report, and to make recommendations*," and those who think that to deprive the Commission of all knowledge of the Indian case is the way to ensure a meaningless report must have a kink in their brain. If the Swarajist plan of depriving the Commission of all proof that there are some fair-minded men in India who will listen to the voice of reason and the argument of common sense, and if such an attitude were to be persisted in and generally adopted, then the only conclusion the Reporters could come to would be that the Indians in the several Legislatives were an impossible class of people, unable to control their malignant passions, and quite unfit to exercise any authority over others. That attitude, if maintained throughout the closing stages of the Commission, would reveal a complete absence of sanity, and expose the political classes of India to general contempt and complete ostracism. The issue lies in whether the intransigentes or the men of reason are to sway the councils of India.

The adverse vote in the Imperial Assembly by itself counted for little. The Simon Commission proceeded on its tour of investigation and inquiry unperturbed by the invective of its traducers. It remained to be seen how far the different provinces

would go in the direction of supporting the vote by recourse to the general boycott advocated by the extremists. If the legislators were, in reality, the exponents of the public opinion of the country, that extreme measure should have found general and widespread adoption. The vote without the boycott had no significance. The plan was to make the Commission appear as a failure. Its presence was to be ignored, its movements hampered, and the end was to be ignominious failure and contemptuous dismissal. India, it was declared, was solid in rejecting the attempt to increase its constitutional privileges. Nothing short of complete independence, by the expulsion of the British, would satisfy these patriots of a land which, except for the period of the Mogul dynasty, had never known unity, or possessed a single supreme ruling dynasty. That was the programme of the Swarajists, and this mere handful of political agitators did not doubt that they would be able to execute it. They were soon to find that the Legislative Chamber at Delhi is only a small part of the public arena of India wherein national problems have to be developed and decided.

If there was one part of India more than another where the Swarajists counted on a general *hartal*, and a vigorous boycott campaign, it was Madras, where two prominent Ministers had announced their intention in advance to support that programme. But it was soon discovered that the extremists were not going, even there, to have things their own way. The Chief Minister, Dr. Subbaroyan, repudiated the action of his colleagues, and declared for co-operation. The demand for a *hartal* fell flat. The Moslems and the depressed classes joined in

giving the Commissioners a cordial welcome. The proposed boycott came to naught, and it was clearly revealed that there was a nail in the coffin of Swaraj domination in the southern capital. Perhaps it may be said in the future of Madras, as in England of Manchester, that "what it thinks one day will be thought by India to-morrow."

In the Punjab there never had been any doubt that the Commission could count on a benevolent reception. Neither the Moslems nor the Sikhs were enamoured of the cajolery of the Bengal and Nagpore demagogues. They could see through their designs to swamp the two principal minorities in all communal affairs. What was not clear to the Europeans was clear to them, as the proposed victims, that behind all the political clamour was the settled purpose to establish Hindu supremacy, and to reduce them to a subservient if not a servile condition. On the eve of their arrival at Lahore the Commission was heartened by the news that the Legislative Council had passed a resolution pledging itself to co-operation, and the opponents had not ventured to challenge a division. On the day of its arrival at Lahore the Commissioners were entertained to an "At Home" at the residence of Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, the chief representative of the Moslems of the Eastern Punjab, and Sir Muhammud Shafi performed the ceremony of "garlanding" the Commissioners. Sir John wrote to the President of the Municipality thanking him for the cordial and encouraging welcome he and his colleagues had received from the public. At Lahore, Sir Fazli Hassain took the leading part in directing the counter movement. Another prominent Moslem

member of the Council, its President, Chaudri Shahab-ud-din, entertained the Commissioners on their return from touring the province at an official luncheon. The effect of this new swing in public opinion in the great province of the Punjab was felt from one end of India to the other, and furnished a rallying-point for Moslem opinion and organisation.

It was in Calcutta that the Swarajists looked for their greatest triumph. Whatever might happen with regard to the *hartal* they felt confident that the boycott would provide the means of bringing the British to their knees in abject impotence and humiliation. This veto was to be enforced especially against cloth. The Chinese of Hong Kong once resorted to a similar measure against bread, and as they were the only bakers in the island it looked more promising; but political problems are not solved by such puerilities. For all their book cramming the Bengalis have the mentality of children—mischievous and malignant, but not edifying or progressive. However an oath was devised, and those who took it were to deprive themselves of the use of British goods. It does not appear that this self-sacrifice extended beyond a limited circle. The shops did not close, and the fashions did not change. There was not the smallest symptom of an earthquake, social or terrestrial. It is not surprising that those who condemned the boycott from the outset are beginning to cast ridicule on its promoters on account of the growing obviousness of its futility and failure.

In Bombay the Swarajists have experienced more disappointment than in Bengal. They have suffered

more than one signal defeat in the Legislative Council, and in no part of India have the moderates come forward with greater courage to stem the tide of unreason and revolt. Several attempts to outvote the Government on motions connected with administrative and judicial questions have egregiously failed, and there seems no doubt that the Bombay Legislative Council will come into line with the Punjab, and declare in favour of co-operation by nominating its committee.

Assam has actually followed the example of the Punjab, and it is worth noting that it has nominated as its representatives one European, three Moslems, and three Hindus. The change that has gradually taken place in Indian opinion about the Commission was shown very clearly by the different reception accorded to Sir John Simon on his return to Delhi at the end of March to that extended to him on his arrival six weeks earlier. The proposal to make a pro-boycott demonstration was such a complete failure that it was unnecessary to take any special police precautions.

But in the Imperial Assembly the efforts of the political agitators did not abate. No opportunity was lost to thwart and embarrass the administration. Those who clamoured for self-rule showed no restraint over themselves, and brought the traditions of Parliamentary rule into disrepute with all respectable citizens.

Sir Basil Blackett was obliged by his reception on bringing forward vital Bills for the welfare of the State to expostulate and to record the opinion that: "The principal interest of many of us during the whole of my term of office has been the desire to

make the Assembly more and more into a Parliament, and my difficulty to-day is that, every time, the Assembly has tried to commit political suicide; every opportunity that has been given it to show that it has responsibility and can use it the Assembly takes to show that it can be irresponsible."

CHAPTER XII

THE CASE FOR THE MOSLEMS

WHATEVER may be the future experiences of the Simon Commission, whatever may be the nature of its Report at the end of its labours, whatever may be the legislation eventually based upon it, the case for the Indian Moslems, in its main lines, may be given succinctly. The position they acquired, not without effort, under the Morley-Minto Act must not be imperilled by any subsequent legislation. It represents the very minimum that will satisfy their desires and remove their apprehension. Concessions to Hindus, direct or indirect, must be accompanied and balanced by corresponding concessions in just proportion to Moslems, so that their relative position shall remain undisturbed and the same. This will be the foundation on which Moslem opinion in India will stand.

In Mahomedan circles there is no uneasiness that the British Legislature will violate this cardinal principle, nor is it doubtful that if any discrepancy in details should arise the representations of our leaders will not pass unheeded. The immediate perils with which we have to cope lie in the efforts and intrigues of the Hindus to secure such advantages as will promote their chances of establishing a complete ascendancy in the future. This intention, or rather deliberate purpose, is revealed behind the proceedings on every occasion of the All Parties Confer-

ences, when no disposition is ever visible to meet the Moslem views and to satisfy their demands, not for special favours, but for a fair equality. The Hindus have usurped systematically the majority of appointments in the local services, and when protests have been made against this attempt to establish a monopoly their spokesmen have revealed the extent of their animosity by insults, of which the most current is that the Moslems are not sufficiently educated for an equal status. That is an obsolete story, and it was well answered by Maulvi Mahomed Yakub, Deputy President of the Assembly, when he silenced a detractor by declaring that the Moslems were now as well educated as any other community. But none the less will the Hindus cling to the "loaves and fishes" of office, keeping the Moslems outside the door. This is most observable in the great Customs Department, where, despite the orders of Government to secure a fair representation for the minorities, the Hindus possess a preponderance which is little removed from a monopoly.

During an important and stormy debate in the Assembly last March it was stated that Moslem candidates never got fair treatment unless their claims were dealt with by Englishmen, and that even British officials, when coming to a decision, had usually to depend upon "notes" relative to these candidates drafted by Hindu subordinates. To counteract these manœuvres required a special effort by the superior official, for which the stress of business very often did not leave sufficient time. Consequently it followed that in the majority of cases the selection was made, not by the personal

knowledge of the civilian, but on the misleading and sometimes doctored notes of his Hindu subordinates.

On the same occasion Sir Abdul Qaiyum declared that the problem of official appointments was at the bottom of all communal troubles, because disappointed office-seekers, although fully educated and qualified for employment, stirred up the less instructed masses to commit disorders. An Indian Christian member of the Assembly confirmed the statements of the Moslem members by declaring that it was within his knowledge that promotions were denied to other candidates, however well qualified, in favour of those who belonged to the community which was, in the political sense, the more important. These expressions of authentic opinion aroused the Hindu members present to fury, and Sir Abdul Qaiyum was the special mark of their obloquy. The President intervened to avert an explosion by closing the discussion, but why should it be deemed desirable to cover up the revelation of the full extent of the venom of those Hindus who gather in the Mahasabha League by premature suspension?

And mention of the Mahasabha League brings us to another point. There was a meeting at Jubbulpore last April—that is, subsequent to the debate just described—of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, the Shuddhi Sabha and the Depressed Classes Conference. The Shuddhis are supposed to welcome the admission of non-Hindus into Hinduism. They do so without any qualification—that is to say, with full rights. They are either sincere, or they see the advantage of insincerity. That extraordinary individual, the ex-Maharaja of Indore, has even

promised it a large endowment and a considerable annuity for religious propaganda, "not only in India but abroad." While the Shuddhis pose as moderates, the Mahasabhas are more extreme; perhaps that implies they are more honest in their expressions. At all events, the President on this occasion, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, was emphatic on the point that the spread of Hinduism is essential outside the fold of Islam. Its triumphs are to be obtained at the expense of the Mahomedans and the Christians.

He said: "That so long as a man designated himself a Hindu it was necessary for him actively to concern himself with the well-being of the Hindu community. A vaunted freedom from communalism was often only a disguise for the gratification of individual selfishness. Both the Shuddhi and the Sangethan work of the Mahasabha were progressing rapidly. The question of the reconversion of Indian Christians to Hinduism had not attracted attention for various reasons. One reason was that the conditions of the life and spirit of an Indian converted to Christianity were not the same as those of an Indian converted to Islam. The former, as a rule, was less fanatical and aggressive than the latter. Christian missionaries nowadays tried to take a high ground of reasoning, and comparative study, leading to toleration and an appreciative understanding of each other's position. Then Sangethan, meaning the organisation for solidarity and strength, was more important than the Shuddhi. They must first begin to establish a good understanding between the different sections of the Hindu community. The Brahmans must renounce voluntarily their privileges, and work for the removal of untouchability must

be pushed forward. If the caste system were part of the Hindu social structure they could, by the fusion of sub-castes, come to the point where only the four great castes were left. The Mahasabha did not stand for aggression in the matters of cow-slaughter, or of playing music before mosques, though it would continue to advocate the safeguarding of the established civil rights of both communities."

Dr. Moonjee, who had taken a prominent part in the controversy with Sir Abdul Qaiyum in the Assembly, stated, as we all knew, that "there was keen competition between Hindus, Moslems, and Christians for the absorption of the untouchables," adding the conclusion expressed in an earlier chapter, "whichever community succeeded in doing so would be dominant in India." He neglected to point out that so far as evidence is available, the Christians may be eliminated from the competition. It lies between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and Dr. Moonjee is very uncertain of the results. The Moslems have always met the depressed classes as human beings, and not as the "polluted." He is also well aware that there is little likelihood of those Hindus, who in past times have turned to the Prophet, revealing any inclination to revert to the Brahman dogmas. The Vedas have slight attraction for those who have assimilated the great lessons of the Koran.

But it may be said that the Brahmans are changing, that they are full of affection for those castes whom they have ostracised for over 2,000 years, that they have decided to receive them with open arms and to place them on an equal footing with

themselves. *Credat Judæus!* We have some concrete examples to guide us. There is the case of Ramsarup, a Brahman, who was murdered by other Brahmans because he tried to improve the condition of the depressed classes in their native village near Mainpuri. The details came out on the hearing of an appeal against sentence before the High Court at Allahabad, of which the following is a summary:

Sandar Singh and eight others, high caste Hindus, appealed against the sentence of transportation for life passed on them by the Sessions Judge at Mainpuri, who had found them guilty of the murder of Ramsarup, also a Brahman. Their victim had annoyed the orthodox Hindus of his village by attempting to raise the Chamars and other members of the depressed classes, whom he allowed to wait on him, fetch his water, and cut his vegetables. When the Chamars complained to him that their offerings had been refused by the Brahmans at the village temple, he advised them to build their own temple, and assisted them to do so This led to legal proceedings by the other side, and it was alleged that the nine appellants had gone to Ramsarup's house and called him out to discuss a compromise. When Ramsarup appeared, the appellants had immediately begun to beat him with *lathis* (iron-shod staves). Ramsarup's wife, who intervened, was pushed aside, and the appellants had eventually killed him. Before this attack, Ramsarup had had to separate from his father and other relatives, who had quarrelled with him, owing to his behaviour towards the Chamars. The High Court rejected the appeals and confirmed the sentences.

If the orthodox Brahmans are so relentless in deal-

ing with one another, it can be easily imagined what the depressed classes would have to endure at their hands whenever they endeavoured to break the chains that have so long bound them and to obtain the equal rights of their common humanity. The programme of the Suddhi party aims not at ameliorating the position of the "untouchables," but solely at deterring them from joining the Mahomedans, who would give them a real, and not a hollow, freedom. The sole object of the Suddhis in posing as benevolent proselytisers is to close the door to a genuine campaign, from the success of which they foresee the gravest peril to their own ascendancy. The gravitation of the "untouchables" towards any other section of the community will, indeed, be a great contribution towards its stability and importance, but both Christians and Moslems will be convicted of crass stupidity if it should prove to be in favour of the Brahmans.

The main offensive of the Hindu leaders who flaunt at present the banner of Swaraj is directed against the communal electorates. They will do something, and they will promise a great deal more, to induce the Moslems to abandon their protected position as a minority in the communities. It is hard to conceive how Mr. Jinnah could have been persuaded to abandon the recognised Moslem platform for that of the general electorates, in return for which the Hindus were willing to make various illusory concessions, for if one thing is clearer than another in the cloudy atmosphere of Indian politics, it is that the adoption of general electorates would be the first step towards the loss of all the hard-won rights of the Moslem and other minorities.

A striking indication of the strong desire of the Hindus to obtain, by either guile or pressure, the assent of the Moslems to the principle of general electorates was afforded when a proposal was brought forward to insist upon the introduction recommended since 1922 of the reforms into the North-West Frontier Province. The withholding of this right, which would establish the autonomy of this important division of the country, has been regarded ever since as a legitimate grievance by its British and Moslem inhabitants. But the Hindu Provincial League has combated their views with successful results, which, in itself, affords strong proof of their influence as well as their pertinacity. While the Simon Commission were in Lahore, a deputation from this body presented a copy of resolutions, passed at one of its conferences, to the effect that the Hindus of all the districts, five in number, considered that "the reform scheme of 1919, in its entirety or otherwise, was neither workable in the Frontier Province, nor beneficial, owing to the peculiar conditions—geographical, financial, and political—obtaining there." They did not stop with that general statement, but went on to declare that "the scheme was detrimental to good government, and that the introduction of elections to local bodies was not desirable in the interests of public tranquillity and communal harmony." The meaning of these specious representations is nothing more than that the Hindus would find themselves in a minority whenever the Moslems of that border province came by their rights.

But although the Hindus in the province were strongly opposed to the introduction of the reforms,

some of the leaders outside it were willing to give their acquiescence to it on condition that the Moslems would agree to support their ticket with regard to general electorates. From this persistence may be judged the importance attached by the Swarajists to the destruction of the communal principle. It is the first step towards the complete overwhelming of the Moslems in the political, as well as the administrative sphere.

There has been so much wild speaking in India that it might have been thought that nothing was left in the way of invective directed against either British or Moslems for Hindu rhetoricians to invent. But a new line was started by Mr. Jawaharial Nehru, son of the Pundit, at Amritsar, which should not be allowed to pass without notice.

"In his presidential address he said that the Punjab had become the Indian Ulster, but, though the province had not produced great speakers or thinkers, it was a virile province, and he hoped that it would return to the 1919 attitude, when the sacrifices of the Punjab gave India a lead in the example of sacrifice. His speech was mainly an attack on Imperialism and the Empire. Dominion status, he said, was useless, because if it was given nominally India would not be politically free, as she would still continue under British economic subjection. Therefore, complete independence was the only logical and sound political ideal, aiming at the severance of the British connection. He was confident that Indians could defend themselves, but he was prepared to accept the argument that if they wanted British help to defend their frontiers they were then unfitted for independence. He preferred that India

should be invaded by a foreign Power to its being protected by the British, a protection for which India paid such a heavy price. India was not threatened with any great dangers. Other countries were immune from invasion by enemies, not because they themselves could successfully defend themselves, but because of treaties of mutual help entered into with their neighbours. Therefore, it was fallacious to raise the bogy of foreign invasion in the event of the withdrawal of the British garrison."

This young gentleman must be either very ignorant or remarkably pot-valiant in declaring that "he would prefer India to be invaded by a foreign Power to its being protected by the British." He comes from a part of India which would, from its geographical position, be remote from the scene of any invasion, but it may be questioned how far his indifference to their possible sufferings will appeal to the "virile" people of the Punjab and the North-West Province, upon whom the brunt of any invasion, and consequently of India's defence, must fall. His want of feeling for those of his fellow-countrymen who stand at the point of danger is matched by his ignorance of history. He talks of nations being safe by treaty. They never were, and the recent case of Belgium ought to have deterred him from having recourse to so poor an argument.

In striking contrast with the frivolities of Nehru junior are the warnings of the Maharaja of Burdwan, an enlightened man, whose opinions are based on wide knowledge and a varied experience such as no other Indian of the present time possesses. He considers the possibility of an invasion of India under Russian auspices as a serious and probably not

remote contingency. He has no doubt as to what its character will be, for, although he inhabits Bengal, the blood of the Punjab is in his veins. He could not contemplate with young Nehru's complacency the horrors which his kinsmen would have to endure when the hosts under the Red Flag sweep through the passes. There is only one way to repel the onslaught of the inhuman monsters who came to power by the massacre of 3,000,000 of their own countrymen, and who have set up Soviet republics in Central Asia at the expense of the Moslem Khans and Amirs by the same ruthless means. That way is by keeping up the military strength of the country at the highest point of readiness and efficiency, and by constant vigilance as to what is happening on the northern frontiers of Afghanistan. China affords a melancholy instance of the extent to which the Soviet virus has spread. Never was there a more striking lesson afforded of the truth of the poet's prophecy that "red ruin" follows the "breaking down of laws."

The Maharaja of Burdwan spoke in grave terms of the situation in Bengal, and gave a general admonition that must be heeded on the social needs and apathy of that portion of the Hindu community which inhabits the great province. His words should not fall on deaf ears: "The various political leaders of India should bear in mind that it is not merely a legal or political responsibility that the British Government have towards India, but a moral responsibility towards the masses. Up to now, I have seen no party in India really serious in their efforts to uplift these masses and better their conditions.

"It is easy enough to agitate against the writings

of people like Katherine Mayo in her book 'Mother India,' but it is not so easy to deny that some of these evils do exist in India at the present day, and it is for every right-thinking Indian to put his shoulder to the wheel in order to eradicate such evils and to remove the stigma on his Motherland by co-operating with the British, and not by making British administration in India more difficult and by alienating the sympathies of those who, in spite of their shortcomings, are, and will continue to be, the best friends of India ; I mean the British."

As a companion picture to the Bengal Maharaja's analysis of the true position in one part of India, that provided by a Moslem gentleman with regard to another part—viz., the Punjab—may be placed on record, more especially as it relates to a matter that is seldom discussed. Colonel Malik Sir Umar Hayat, Khan of Tiwana, pointed out during a debate in the Council of State on the Territorial Force Bill the way in which the Government had played into the hands of urban mischief-makers at the expense of the loyal men of the rural areas. He stated, of his own knowledge, that most of these members of urban units are the very men who create trouble by making innocent people keep *hartal* and join in riots. Are we justified in giving them arms when they create so much trouble without arms? During the past troublous times in the Punjab I happen to know, and others know, that when cities were being burnt, some of these soldiers of the towns were heard to remark : "Wait till my patrol is a little farther on ; then you can burn things." It was said that if a man wanted to be a High Court Judge all he need do was to criticise the Govern-

ment, and then he got his want satisfied. I would urge upon the Government that such a practice should not be allowed in the army. It would not be right for the Government to place arms in the hands of men who are against them merely as a bait to make them desist from doing wrong. The voice of these unruly people, and of those who hitherto had been against the Government, is not the voice of the country, but only of a few agitators who can talk a lot.

In considering the present position in India a new movement must be taken into account. Behind the Swarajists, who are a comparatively small body in respect of numbers, there are the Communists, who have adopted the doctrines of Bolshevism and look to Moscow for inspiration and financial support. These, unless steps are taken in good time to counteract the active propaganda of those alien promoters of discord and confusion—among whom, extraordinary to say, some of the most active are English—must increase in numbers to a formidable extent, for the appeal to them is not political, but social and selfish. The programme of the Communists must be, and is, as unattractive and repulsive even to all Indians who love their country as it is to the British. In the world struggle between the upholders of law and right on the one side, and the advocates of lawlessness and wrong on the other, India will have to take her part sooner than had been expected. While the idle and discontented class of literates, which forms the principal recruiting source of the professional politicians, rely on the futile weapon of the boycott, the Sovietic Communists are resorting to the more formidable auxiliary of the strike. This resource is

favoured because it is regarded as the direct precursor of revolution. The emissaries of Moscow are working, not for a Parliamentary success, but for what is termed a proletarian triumph over the representatives of capital, culture, and civilisation. Their slogan is to destroy, and there seems no reason to doubt the statement recently made in the Calcutta *Vanguard* that "the organisations of Moscow have presented a gold-embroidered flag to the Indian working classes." It is added that "the Indian Communist Party will hold it in safe custody till the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, or other working-class organisation, intimates its desire to take it over."

A "gold-embroidered flag" does not seem very appropriate for a party advocating the abolition of capital, the deposition of money, and the reduction of wages to the minimum living rate. The avowed object of the Communists carrying out the advice and incitations of Moscow is to bring about the downfall of the British Government by "the non-payment of taxes, civil disobedience, and the general strike." Strikes in Bengal, Bombay, and elsewhere show that this teaching has not fallen on barren ground, and their extent and violence disprove the assumption that they are, like their predecessors, ordinary incidents in the relations between the employed and their masters, or, as the phrase goes, "capital and labour." Their incidence and distribution reveal an organisation led by trained plotters as agents for a body aiming at the destruction of all that civilised people hold dear. The strike is, by those malicious or maniacal persons, regarded as the preliminary to the war which "they declare

will undoubtedly come." Mr. Jawaharial's faith in the security of treaties and in the pleasure with which he would welcome an invasion are soon to be put to the test if the Soviet and their tools in the strikers are to have their way.

No doubt some of the more extreme members of the Swarajist party will incline to co-operation with the strike movement as a development of the boycott, but the majority will hold back because the strike is not only abhorrent, but injurious, to those Indian capitalists from whom they derive, either voluntarily or involuntarily, their financial resources. But no measure of toleration or indifference will appeal to those captains of industry who have given in mill, mine, and manufacture a new prosperity to India. They will not consent to see the fruits of their enterprises blighted by the sinister efforts of reactionaries and revolutionaries. They will fight the strike with the surest weapon at their disposal, "a systematic and sustained lock-out."

In Bombay, at least, in the Legislative Council, there seems to be a clearer perception of the "boomerang" effect of the strike policy than in Calcutta, and the Swarajists manifest an intention to make "civil disobedience" their slogan. To that end they believed they had found a good "stalking-horse" in what has been styled the Bardoli affair. Bardoli is a taluka of Gujerat, wherein the land tax was recently enhanced by Government. The case for this step was so strong that a resolution disapproving of it was defeated in the Council last April. This reverse was followed by the resignation of several Gujerat members of the Council, notwithstanding that the published correspondence showed

that the Government had reconsidered the assessment with great sympathy and leniency and modified its original terms. None the less, the Bardoli case was believed by some of the leaders in the Bombay Council to furnish the material for a renewed attack on the Government with the main object of promoting civil disobedience. The appeal that went forth throughout India to support "the brave people" of Bardoli does not appear to have aroused much enthusiasm or to have elicited any general support. Why? The affair is regarded as the pyrotechnics of politics, whereas the strike constitutes the genuine dynamic force.

Amidst all this social and political confusion and upheaval it may be suggested, in conclusion, that the British people generally, and their representative bodies in the two Houses of Parliament, should give an attentive ear to the requests and representations of the Moslems of India. They are neither unreasonable nor excessive. Their advocacy has not been marked by strikes or civil disobedience. They have shown no leaning towards Bolshevism. Among those who preach sedition and indulge in treasonable plots, not a Moslem will be found. They cannot help feeling disappointed and annoyed when they see that the policy and actions of the Government of India have always inclined to favour the Hindus and to put them in the background. Even if the Moslems regarded the Government with disfavour, which is not the case, they could not be charged with ingratitude. It is the Hindus who are ingrates, fully justifying the character given them by the Emperor Baber four centuries ago. Those from whom they have received favours they would now rend in pieces. The Mos-

lems are open friends or foes. They do not conceal their feelings. They do not plot underground. They do not look to Moscow; they trust in themselves. Surely the friendship and co-operation of such loyal friends and firm allies is worth having.

Unlike those of the Hindus, the requirements of the Moslems can be expressed within a moderate compass, and when satisfied they are not followed by a demand for more. Apart from the grand underlying principle that whatever concessions may be made to the Hindus must be accompanied by equivalents to the Moslems, so that the balance between them shall not be adversely disturbed, there is no immediate desire for precipitate action in regard to constitutional evolution in India. Hasty legislation can do no good, it is better to wait a little time for the elaboration of sound measures that will give peace and content for a long period. Lord Morley thought that his modest measure would give peace to India for a whole generation, and the interval of only twenty years, despite the second batch of reforms, has provided us with increasing thrills of excitement and exacerbation. The problem, instead of being solved, has become more difficult of solution than ever.

But over and beyond the contention for equality with the Hindus in the legislation and administration of their common country, the Moslems have certain definite requirements to which they consider due regard has not been paid. If they affected the Hindus, the Swarajists would be screaming from the housetops. It would be very disconcerting if the Moslems were *forced* to conclude that to obtain a hearing they, too, must become noisy. As a great

concession, the Moslems obtained special electorates to protect them as a minority, but, as was set forth at the beginning of this work, the classification of the Moslems as a minority is based on many fallacies. In common fairness and just proportion, the Moslems should be placed on an absolute equality with the Hindus. That is, perhaps, the only sure way of obtaining full justice for the followers of Islam.

But before that end can be obtained there are some intermediate stages to be traversed. It is already clear that the number of seats held by Moslems in the Legislatures and all other elected bodies should be increased, while the existing system of separate electorates must be preserved at all costs. That is the only method by which the Moslems can be preserved from becoming the serfs of the Hindus. If we had any doubt on the subject it would be removed by the intensity of the Swarajist campaign to swamp or, by any means, destroy the separate electorates. Give us to that end your cooperation, they declare, and we will promise you anything. The oaths of the Hindus are as fugitive as the water of the Ganges on which they are traced.

With regard to appointments in Government service, there is no question that the Moslems need protection. The Hindus are, in every sense, the men in possession, and long usage leads them to resent the presence of Mahomedans as that of intruders. Like all monopolists, they desire to retain their privileges, and they stoop to every artifice to carry their point. The Government must intervene in this matter to see that justice is done, and

to arrest the present tendency to create an exclusively Hindu bureaucracy, especially in its subordinate ranks. Those posts which are not disposable by open competition should be apportioned on a scale leaving one-third of the situations for the Moslems. A minor concession would be debarring Hindu subordinates from submitting personal reports on Moslem candidates. The impartiality of the British selectors is not challenged, but their hands are more or less tied by the existing regulations. Their task would be lightened if Mahomedans alone should be allowed to prepare the notes on Mahomedan candidates. The reservation of a fair proportion of the higher posts open to competition is not so pressing, and might be avoided altogether if Government were to give a more generous support and patronage to colleges and schools devoted exclusively to Moslem instruction. A special committee has been appointed to aid the Simon Commission in that branch of its investigations which relates to education, and it is much to be desired that our leaders and educational authorities should seize this favourable opportunity for calling attention to our special needs and desires.

Under the law of the land Mahomedans possess absolute freedom in their religious duties and exercises, but this is qualified by the frequent, and often uncontrolled, intolerance of the Hindus. Services in our mosques are frequently disturbed by bands of disorderly Hindus, who seize our hours of prayer to promenade outside with the noisy music of khols and kartals (drums and cymbals). No Hindu leader has ever attempted to remonstrate with these agents of provocation. The furthest

concession made at political conferences to promote a *Hindu-Moslem union has been to declare that* these demonstrations are "regrettable, but that they cannot be checked." Apparently the licence of Hindu mobs is superior to the British law, and as long as this state of things continues there must be violent collisions between the two races. One thing must be held established. It is the Hindus who are the aggressors, for they know full well that their conduct is, in the eyes of the Moslems, insulting and intolerable.

The demands, or rather the expectations of the Moslems in India, may be classified under four heads: (1) Political status, (2) official or State employment, (3) education, and (4) religion. Under none of these would complete satisfaction be very difficult. For most of them, all that is requisite is the desire to meet the wishes of that half of the Indian community which feels that it has deserved, and is still deserving, favourable consideration, justice, and fair play.